

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE 9405 aa

UNITED PROVINCES

OF THE

NETHERLANDS.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE of *Shene*, in the
County of *Surrey*, Baronet, Ambassador at
the *Hague*, and at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in the
Year 1668. K

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

HAVING lately seen the State of the United Provinces, after a prodigious Growth in Riches, Beauty, Extent of Commerce, and Number of Inhabitants, arrived at length to such a Height, (by the Strength of their Navies, their fortified Towns, and standing Forces, with a constant Revenue proportioned to the Support of all this Greatness), as made them the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours;

We have, this Summer past, beheld the same State, in the midst of great appearing Safety, Order, Strength, and Vigour, almost ruined and broken to Pieces, in some few Days, and by very few Blows; and reduced, in a manner, to its first Principles of Weakness and Distress; exposed, oppressed, and very near at Mercy; their inland Provinces swallowed up by an Invasion, almost as sudden and unresisted as the Inundations to which the others are subject; and the Remainders of their State

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rather kept alive by Neglect or Disconcert of its Enemies, than by any Strength of Nature, or Endeavours at its own Recovery.

Now, because such a Greatness and such a Fall of this State seem Revolutions unparalleled in any Story, and hardly conceived even by those who have lately seen them; I thought it might be worth an idle Man's Time, to give some Account of the Rise and Progress of this Commonwealth, the Causes of their Greatness, and the Steps towards their Fall; which were all made by Motions perhaps little taken notice of by common Eyes, and almost undiscernible to any Man that was not placed to the best Advantage, and something concerned, as well as much inclined to observe them.

The usual Duty of Employments abroad, imposed not only by Custom, but by Orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare some formal Account of this Country and Government, after two Years Embassy, in the midst of great Conjunctions and Negotiations among them. And such a Revolution as has since happened there, though it may have made these Discourses little important to his Majesty or his Council; yet it will not have rendered them less agreeable to common Eyes, who, like Men that live near the Sea, will run out upon the Cliffs

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to gaze at it in a Storm, though they would not look out of their Windows to see it in a Calm.

Besides, at a Time when the Actions of this Scene take up so generally the Eyes and Discourses of their Neighbours, and the Maps of their Country grow so much in request, I thought a Map of their State and Government would not be unwelcome to the World; since it is full as necessary as the others, to understand the late Revolutions and Changes among them. And as no Man's Story can be well written till he is dead, so the Account of this State could not be well given till its Fall; which may justly be dated from the Events of last Summer, (whatever Fortunes may further attend them); since therein we have seen the sudden and violent Dissolution of that more popular Government, which had continued, and made so much Noise for above twenty Years in the World, without the Exercise or Influence of the Authority of the Princes of Orange, a Part so essential in the first Constitutions of their State. Nor can I wholly lose my Pains in this Adventure, when I shall gain the Ease of answering this way, at once, those many Questions I have lately been used to upon this Occasion: Which made me first observe and wonder how ignorant we were generally in the Affairs and Constitutions of a Country so much in our Eye; the common Road of our Travels, as well

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as Subject of our Talk ; and which we have been of late not only curious, but concerned to know.

I am very sensible how ill a Trade it is to write, where much is ventured, and little can be gained ; since whoever does it ill, is sure of Contempt ; and the justiest that can be, when no Man provokes him to discover his own Follies, or to trouble the World. If he writes well, he raises the Envy of those Wits that are possessed of the Vogue, and are jealous of their Preferment there, as if it were in Love, or in State ; and have found, that the nearest Way to their own Reputation lies, right or wrong, by the Derision of other Men. But, however, I am not in Pain ; for it is the Affectation of Praise that makes the Fear of Reproach ; and I write without other Design than of entertaining very idle Men, and among them myself. For I must confess, that, being wholly useless to the Publick, and unacquainted with the Cares of increasing Riches, (which busy the World) ; being grown cold to the Pleasures of younger or livelier Men ; and having ended the Entertainments of Building and Planting, (which use to succeed them) ; finding little Taste in common Conversation, and Trouble in much Reading, from the Care of my Eyes, since an Illness contracted by many unnecessary Diligences in my Employments abroad, there

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can hardly be found an idler Man than I; nor, consequently, one more excusable for giving way to such Amusements as this; having nothing to do, but to enjoy the Ease of a private Life and Fortune; which, as I know no Man envies, so (I thank God) no Man can reproach.

I am not ignorant, that the Vein of Reading never ran lower than in this Age; and seldom goes farther than the Design of raising a Stock to furnish some Calling or Conversation, the Desire of Knowledge being either laughed out of Doors by the Wit that pleases the Age, or beaten out by Interest that so much possesses it; and the Amusement of Books giving way to the Liberties or Refinements of Pleasure, that were formerly less known, or less avowed than now. Yet some there will always be found in the World, who ask no more at their idle Hours, than to forget themselves: And whether that be brought about by Drink or Play, by Love or Business, or by some Diversions as idle as this, it is all a Case.

Besides, it may possibly fall out, at one time or other, that some Prince or great Minister may not be ill pleased in these kind of Memorials, (upon such a Subject), to trace the Steps of Trade and Riches, of Order and Power, in a State; and those likewise of weak or violent Counsels, of corrupt or ill Conduct, of
Faction

Faction or Obstinacy, which decay and dissolve the firmest Governments; that so, by Reflexions upon foreign Events, they may provide the better and the earlier against those at home, and raise their own Honour and Happiness by equal Degrees with the Prosperity and Safety of the Nations they govern.

For, under favour of those who would pass for Wits in our Age, by saying Things which David tells us the Fool said in his; and set up with bringing those Wares to Market, which (God knows) have been always in the World, though kept up in Corners, because they used to mark their Owners, in former Ages, with the Names of Buffoons, profane or impudent Men; who deride all Form and Order, as well as Piety and Truth; and, under the Notion of Fopperies, endeavour to dissolve the very Bonds of all Civil Society; tho', by the Favour and Protection thereof, they themselves enjoy so much greater Proportions of Wealth and of Pleasures, than would fall to their Share, if all lay in common, as they seem to design; (for then such Possessions would belong of Right to the strongest and bravest among us):

Under Favour of such Men; I believe it will be found, at one Time or other, by all who shall try, that, whilst human Nature continues
what

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what it is, the same Orders in State, the same Discipline in Armies, the same Reverence for Things sacred, and Respect of Civil Institutions, the same Virtues and Dispositions of Princes and Magistrates, derived by Interest or Imitation into the Customs and Humours of the People, will ever have the same Effects upon the Strength and Greatness of all Governments, and upon the Honour and Authority of those that rule, as well as the Happiness and Safety of those that obey.

Nor are we to think Princes themselves Losers, or less entertained, when we see them employ their Time and their Thoughts in so useful Speculations, and to so glorious Ends; but that rather thereby they attain their true Prerogative, of being happier, as well as greater, than Subjects can be. For all the Pleasures of Sense that any Man can enjoy, are within the Reach of a private Fortune, and ordinary Contrivance; grow fainter with Age, and duller with Use; must be revived with Intermissions, and wait upon the Returns of Appetite, which are no more at Call of the Rich than the Poor. The Flashes of Wit and good Humour that rise from the Vapours of Wine, are little different from those that proceed from the Heats of Blood in the first Approaches of Fevers or Frenzies; and are to be valued but as (indeed) they are, the Effects of Distemper.
But

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But the Pleasures of Imagination, as they beighten and refine the very Pleasures of Sense, so they are of larger Extent, and longer Duration. And if the most sensual Man will confess there is a Pleasure in pleasing, he must likewise allow, there is Good to a Man's self in doing Good to others; and the further this extends, the higher it rises, and the longer it lasts. Besides, there is Beauty in Order, and there are Charms in well-deserved Praise; and both are the greater, by how much greater the Subject; as the first appearing in a well-framed and well-governed State, and the other arising from noble and generous Actions. Nor can any Veins of good Humour be greater than those that swell by the Success of wise Counsels, and by the fortunate Events of publick Affairs; since a Man that takes Pleasure in doing good to ten thousand, must needs have more than he that takes none but in doing good to himself.

But these Thoughts lead me too far, and to little Purpose; therefore I shall leave them for those I had first in my Head, concerning the State of the United Provinces.

And whereas the Greatness of their Strength and Revenues grew out of the Vastness of their Trade, into which their Religion, their Manners and Dispositions, their Situation, and the Form of their Government, were the chief Ingredients;

gredients; and this last had been raised, partly upon an old Foundation, and partly with Materials brought together by many and various Accidents: it will be necessary for the Survey of this great Frame, to give some Account of the Rise and Progress of their State, by pointing out the most remarkable Occasions of the first, and Periods of the other; to discover the Nature and Constitutions of their Government in its several Parts, and the Motions of it, from the first and smallest Wheels; to observe what is peculiar to them in their Situation or Dispositions, and what in their Religion; to take a Survey of their Trade, and the Causes of it; of the Forces and Revenues which composed their Greatness; and the Circumstances and Conjunctions which conspired to their Fall. And these are the Heads that shall make the Order and Arguments in the several Parts of these Observations.

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OBSERVATIONS

U P O N

The United Provinces of the
NETHERLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

Of their Rise and Progress.

WHETHER will take a View of the Rise of this Commonwealth, must trace it up as high as the first Comotions in the *Seventeen Provinces*, under the Dukes of *Parma's* Government; and the true Causes of that more avowed and general Revolt in the Duke of *Alva's* Time: and, to find out the natural Springs of those Revolutions, must reflect upon that sort of Government under which the Inhabitants of those Provinces lived for so many Ages past, in the Subjection of their several Dukes or Counts, till, by Marriages, Successions, or Conquest, they came to be united in the House of

A Burgundy,

Burgundy, under *Philip* surnamed *The Good*; and afterwards, in that of *Austria*, under *Philip* Father of *Charles V.*; and lastly, in the Person of that great Emperor, incorporated with those vast Dominions of *Germany* and *Spain*, *Italy* and the *Indies*.

Nor will it be from the Purpose, upon this Search, to run a little higher into the Antiquities of these Countries. For though most Men are contented only to see a River as it runs by them, and talk of the Changes in it as they happen; when it is troubled, or when clear; when it drowns the Country in a Flood, or forsakes it in a Drought: yet he that would know the Nature of the Water, and the Causes of those Accidents, (so as to guess at their Continuance or Return), must find out its Source, and observe with what Strength it rises, what Length it runs, and how many small Streams fall in, and feed it to such a Height, as make it either delightful or terrible to the Eye, and useful or dangerous to the Country about it.

The Numbers and Fury of the Northern Nations, under many different Names, having by several Inundations broken down the whole Frame of the *Roman* Empire, extended in their Provinces as far as the *Rhine*, either gave a Birth, or made Way for the several Kingdoms and Principalities that have since continued in the Parts of *Europe* on this Side that River, which made the ancient Limits of the *Gallick* and *German* Nations. The Tract of Land which we usually call the *Low Countries*, was so wasted by the Invasions or Marches of this raging People, (who passed by them to greater Conquests), that the Inhabitants grew thin; and, being secure of no-
thing

thing they possessed, fell to seek the Support of their Lives, rather by Hunting, or by Violence, than by Labour and Industry: And thereby the Grounds came to be uncultivated; and in the course of Years turned either to Forest, or Marshes; which are the two natural Soils of all desolated Lands in the more temperate Regions. For by soaking of frequent Showers, and the Course of Waters from the higher into lower Grounds, when there is no Issue that helps them to break out into a Channel, the flat Land grows to be a Mixture of Earth and Water, and neither of common Use nor Passage to Man or Beast; which is called a *Marsh*. The higher, and so the drier, Parts, moistened by the Rain, and warmed by the Sun, shoot forth some sorts of Plants, as naturally as Bodies do some sorts of Hair; which, being preserved by the Desolateness of a Place untroden, as well as untilled, grow to such Trees or Shrubs as are natural to the Soil; and those in time producing both Food and Shelter for several kinds of Beasts, make the sort of Country we call a *Forest*.

And such was *Flanders* for many Years before *Charlemaign's* Time; when the Power of the *Franks*, having raised and established a great Kingdom of their own, upon the entire Conquest of *Gaul*, began to reduce the Disorders of that Country to the Form of a civil, or, at least, military Government; to make Divisions and Distributions of Lands and Jurisdictions, by the Bounty of the Prince, or the Services of his chief Followers and Commanders: To one of whom a great Extent of this Land was given, with the Title of *Forester of Flanders*. This Office con-

inued for several Descents, and began to civilize the Country, by repressing the Violence of Robbers and Spoilers, who infested the woody and fast Places; and by encouraging the milder People to fall into civil Societies, to trust to their Industry for Subsistence, to Laws for Protection, and to their Arms, united under the Care and Conduct of their Governors, for Safety and Defence.

In the Time of *Charlemaign*, as some write, or, as others, in that of *Charles the Bald*, *Flanders* was erected into a County, which changed the Title of *Forester* for that of *Count*, without interrupting the Succession.

What the Extent of this County was at first, or how far the Jurisdiction of *Foresters* reached, I cannot affirm; nor whether it only bordered upon, or included the lower Parts of the vast Woods of *Ardenne*, which, in *Charlemaign's* Time, was all Forest as high as *Aix*, and the rough Country for some Leagues beyond it, and was used commonly by that Emperor for his Hunting. This appears by the ancient Records of that City; which attribute the Discovery, or at least retrieving the Knowledge of those hot Baths, to the Fortune of that Prince, while he was hunting; For his Horse, poching one of his Legs into some hollow Ground, made Way for the smoking Water to break out, and gave Occasion for the Emperor's building that City, and making it his usual Seat, and the Place of Coronation for the following Emperors.

Holland, being an Island made by the dividing Branches of the ancient *Rhine*, and called formerly *Batavia*, was esteemed rather a Part of
Germany

Germany than *Gaul*, (between which it was seated), in regard of its being planted by the *Catti*, a great and ancient People of *Germany*, and was treated by the *Romans* rather as an allied than a subjected Province; who drew from thence no other Tribute besides Bands of Soldiers, much esteemed for their Valour, and joined as Auxiliaries to their Legions in their *Gallick*, *German*, and *British* Wars.

It is probable, this Island changed in a great measure Inhabitants and Customs, as well as Names, upon the Inroads of the barbarous Nations, but chiefly of the *Normans* and *Danes*; from whose Countries and Language the Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* seem to be derived. But, about the Year 860, a Son of the Count of *Frize*, by a Daughter of the Emperor *Lewis II.* was by him instituted Count of *Holland*, and gave Beginning to that Title; which, running since that Time through so many direct or collateral Successions, and some Usurpations, came to an End at last in *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, by the Defection of the *United Provinces*.

Under these first *Foresters* and *Counts*, who began to take those wasted Countries and mixed People into their Care, and to intend the Growth, Strength, and Riches of their Subjects, which they esteemed to be their own; many old and demolished Castles were rebuilt, many new ones erected, and given by the Princes to those of their Subjects or Friends whom they most loved or esteemed, with large Circuits of Lands for their Support, and Seigneurial Jurisdiction over the Inhabitants: and this upon several easy Conditions, but chiefly of Attendance on their Prince

at the necessary Times of either honouring him in Peace, or serving him in War. Nay, possibly, some of these Seigneuries and their Jurisdictions, may, as they pretend, have been the Remains of some old Principalities in those Countries among the *Gallick* and *German* Nations, the first Institutions whereof were lost in the Immensity of Time that preceeded the *Roman* Discoveries or Conquest; and might be derived perhaps from the first paternal Dominion, or Concurrence of loose People into orderly Neighbourhoods, with a Deference, if not Subjection, to the wisest or bravest among them.

Under the same Counts were either founded or restored many Cities and Towns; of which the old had their ancient Freedoms and Jurisdictions confirmed, or others annexed; and the new had either the same granted to them by Example of the others, or great Immunities and Privileges, for the Encouragement of Inhabitants to come and people in them: all these Constitutions agreeing much in Substance, perhaps by Imitation, or else by the agreeing Nature of the People, for whom, or by whom, they were framed; but differing in Form according to the Difference of their Original, or the several Natures, Customs, and Interests of the Princes, whose Concessions many of them were, and all their Permissions.

Another Constitution which entered deep into their Government, may be derived from another Source. For those Northern Nations, whose unknown Language and Countries perhaps made them be called *Barbarous*, (though indeed almost all Nations out of *Italy* and *Greece* were

Chap. I. of the United Provinces.

were styled, so by the *Romans*), but whose Victories in obtaining new Seats, and Orders in possessing them, might make us allow them for a better policy'd People, than they appeared by the Vastness of their Multitude, or the Rage of their Battles.

Where-ever they passed, and seated their Colonies and Dominions, they left a Constitution which has since been called, in most *European* Languages, *The States*, consisting of three Orders, *Noble, Ecclesiastical, and Popular*, under the limited Principality of one Person, with the Style of *King, Prince, Duke, or Count*. The Remainders, at least, or Traces hereof, appear still in all the Principalities founded by those People in *Italy, France, and Spain*; and were of a piece with the present Constitutions in most of the great Dominions on the other Side of the *Rhine*. And it seems to have been a Temper first introduced by them between the Tyranny of the Eastern Kingdoms, and the Liberty of the *Grecian* or *Roman* Commonwealths.

It is true, the *Goths* were Gentiles when they first broke into the *Roman* Empire, till one great Swarm of this People, upon Treaty with one of the *Roman* Emperors, and upon Concessions of a great Tract of Land to be a Seat for their Nation, embraced at once the Christian Faith. After which, the same People breaking out of the Limits had been allowed them, and by fresh Numbers bearing all down where they bent their March; as they were a great Means of propagating Religion in many Parts of *Europe*, where they extended their Conquests, so the Zeal of these new Profelytes, warmed by the
Veneration

Veneration they had for their Bishops and Pastors, and enriched by the Spoils and Possessions of so vast Countries, seem to have been the first that introduced the Maintenance of the Churches and Clergy, by Endowments of Lands, Lordships, and Vassals, appropriated to them: For, before this Time, the Authority of the Priesthood in all Religions seemed wholly to consist in the People's Opinion of their Piety, Learning, or Virtues, or a Reverence for their Character and mystical Ceremonies and Institutions; their Support, or their Revenues, in the voluntary Oblations of pious Men, the Bounty of Princes, or in a certain Share out of the Labours and Gains of those who lived under their Cure, and not in any Subjection of Mens Lives or Fortunes, which belonged wholly to the Civil Power. And *Ammianus*, though he taxes the Luxury of the Bishops in *Valentinian's* Time; yet he speaks of their Riches, which occasioned or fomented it, as arising wholly from the Oblations of the People. But the Devotion of these new Christians introducing this new Form of endowing their Churches; and afterwards *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, Kings of the *Franks*, upon their Victories in *Italy*, and the Favour of the *Roman* Bishop to their Title and Arms, having annexed great Territories and Jurisdictions to that See; this Example, or Custom, was followed by most Princes of the Northern Races through the rest of Europe, and brought into the Clergy great Possessions of Lands, and, by a necessary Consequence, a great Share of temporal Power, from the Dependencies of their Subjects or Tenants; by which means they came to be generally one
of

of the Three Orders that composed the Assembly of the States in every Country.

This Constitution of the States had been established, from Time immemorial, in the several Provinces of the *Low Countries*, and was often assembled for determining Disputes about Succession of their Princes, where doubtful or contested; for deciding those between the great Towns; for raising a Milice for the Defence of their Countries in the Wars of their Neighbours; for Advice in Time of Dangers abroad, or Discontents at home; but always upon the new Succession of a Prince, and upon any new Impositions that were necessary on the People: The Use of this Assembly was another of those Liberties, whereof the Inhabitants of these Provinces were so fond and so tenacious. The rest, besides those ancient Privileges already mentioned of their Towns, were Concessions and Graces of several Princes; in particular, Exemptions or Immunities, Jurisdiction both in Choice and Exercise of Magistracy and Civil Judicature within themselves; or else in the Customs of using none but Natives in Charges and Offices, and passing all weighty Affairs by the great Council, composed of the great Lords of the Country, who were in a manner all Temporal, there being but three Bishops in all the Seventeen Provinces, till the Time of *Philip II. of Spain*.

The Revenues of these Princes consisted in their ancient Demesnes, in small Customs, (which yet grew considerable by the Greatness of Trade in the maritime Towns), and in the voluntary Contributions of their Subjects, either in the States, or in particular Cities, according

to the Necessities of their Prince, or the Afflictions of the People. Nor were these frequent; for the Forces of these Counts were composed of such Lords, who, either by their Governments, or other Offices, or by the Tenure of their Lands, were obliged to attend their Prince on Horseback, with certain Numbers of Men, upon all his Wars; or else of a Milice, which was called *Les gens d'ordonnance*, who served on Foot, and were not unlike our trained Bands; the Use, or at least Style whereof, was renewed in *Flanders*, upon the last War with *France* in 1667, when the Count *Egmont* was made, by the Governor, General *de gens d'ordonnance*.

These Forces were defrayed by the Cities or Countries, as the others were raised by the Lords when Occasion required; and all were licensed immediately when it was past, so that they were of little Charge to the Prince. His Wars were but with other Princes of his own Size, or Competitors to his Principality; or sometimes with the Mutinies of his great Towns; short, though violent; and decided by one Battle or Siege, unless they fell into the Quarrels between *England* and *France*; and then they were engaged but in the Skirts of the War, the Gross of it being waged between the two Kings, and these smaller Princes made use of for the Credit of Alliance, or sometimes the Commodiousness of a Diversion, rather than for any great Weight they made in the Main of the Affair.

The most frequent Wars of the Counts of *Holland* were with the *Frizons*, a Part of the old *Saxons*; and the fiercest Battles of some of the Counts of *Flanders* were with the *Normans*, who

who passed that Way into *France*, and were the last of these Nations that have infested the more Southern Parts of *Europe*. I have sometimes thought, how it should have come to pass, that the infinite Swarm of that vast Northern Hive, which so often shook the World like a great Tempest, and overflowed it like a Torrent; changing Names, and Customs, and Government, and Language, and the very Face of Nature, where-ever they seated themselves; which, upon Record of Story, under the Name of *Gauls*; pierced into *Greece* and *Italy*, sacking *Rome*, and besieging the Capitol, in *Camillus's* Time; under that of the *Cimbers*, marched through *France*, to the very Confines of *Italy*, defended by *Marius*; under that of *Hunns* or *Lombards*, *Visigoths*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, conquered the whole Forces of the *Roman* Empire, sacked *Rome* thrice in a small Compass of Years, seated their Kingdoms in *Spain* and *Africk*, as well as *Lombardy*; and under that of *Danes* or *Normans*, possessed themselves of *England*, a great Part of *France*, and even of *Naples* and *Sicily*: how, I say, these Nations, which seemed to spawn in every Age, and at some Intervals of Time discharged their own native Countries of so vast Numbers, and with such Terror to the World, should, about seven or eight hundred Years ago, leave off the Use of these furious Expeditions, as if on a sudden they should have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill Climates. But I suppose, we owe this Benefit wholly to the Growth and Progress of Christianity in the North; by which early and undistinguished Copulation, or multitude of Wives,

were

were either restrained or abrogated. By the same means Learning and Civility got Footing among them in some Degree, and inclosed certain Circuits of those vast Regions, by the Distinctions and Bounds of Kingdoms, Principalities, or Commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder Lives, spent without other Cares or Pleasures, than of Food, or of Lust, and betook themselves to the Ease and Entertainment of Societies. With Order and Labour, Riches began, and Trade followed; and these made way for Luxury, and that for many Diseases or ill Habits of Body; which, unknown to the former and simpler Ages, began to shorten and weaken both Life and Procreation. Besides, the Divisions and Circles of Dominion occasioned Wars between the several Nations, though of one Faith; and those of the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and *Muscovites*, with the *Turks* or *Tartars*, made greater Slaughters: And by these Accidents I suppose the Numbers of those fertile Broods have been lessened, and their Limits in a measure confined; and we have had thereby, for so long together, in these Parts of the World, the Honour and Liberty of drawing our own Blood, upon the Quarrels of Humour or Avarice, Ambition or Pride, without the Assistance or Need of any barbarous Nations to destroy us.

But to end this Digression, and return to the *Low Countries*, where the Government lasted, in the Form and Manner described, (though in several Principalities), till *Philip* of *Burgundy*, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united:

By this great Extent of a populous Country, and

and the mighty Growth of Trade in *Bruges*, *Gant*, and *Antwerp*, attributed by *Comines* to the Goodness of the Princes, and Ease and Safety of the People, both *Philip*, and his Son *Charles the Hardy*, found themselves a Match for *France*, then much weakened, as well by the late Wars of *England*, as the Factions of their Princes. And, in the Wars with *France*, was the House of *Burgundy*, under *Charles*, and *Maximilian* of *Austria*, (who married his Daughter and Heir), and afterwards under *Charles V.* their Grandchild, almost constantly engaged; the Course, Successes, and Revolutions whereof, are commonly known.

Philip of *Burgundy*, who began them, was a good and wise Prince, loved by his Subjects, and esteemed by his Enemies; and took his Measures so well, that, upon the declining of the *English* Greatness abroad, by their Dissensions at home, he ended his Quarrels in *France*, by a Peace, with Safety and Honour; so that he took no Pretence from his Greatness, or his Wars, to change any thing in the Forms of his Government. But *Charles the Hardy*, engaged more rashly against *France*, and the *Switzers*, began to ask greater and frequent Contributions of his Subjects; which, gained at first by the Credit of his Father's Government, and his own great Designs, but spent in an unfortunate War, made his People discontented, and him disesteemed, till he ended an unhappy Life, by an untimely Death, in the Battle of *Nancy*.

In the Time of *Maximilian*, several German Troops were brought down into *Flanders*, for their Defence against *France*; and in that of

Charles V. much greater Forces of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, upon the same Occasion; a Thing unknown to the *Low Country Men* in the Time of their former Princes. But through the whole Course of this Emperor's Reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his Greatness and Fame increasing together, either diverted or suppressed any Discontents of his Subjects upon the Increase of their Payments, or the Grievance of so many foreign Troops among them. Besides, *Charles* was of a gentle and a generous Nature; and, being born in the *Low Countries*, was naturally kind and easy to that People, whose Customs and Language he always used when he was among them, and employed all their great Men in the Charges of his Court, his Government, or his Armies, through the several Parts of his vast Dominions; so that, upon the last great Action of his Life, which was the Resignation of his Crowns to his Son and Brother, he left to *Philip II.* the Seventeen Provinces, in a Condition as peaceable, and as loyal, as either Prince or Subjects could desire.

Philip II. coming to the Possession of so many and great Dominions, about the Year 1556, after some Trial of good and ill Fortune in the War with *France*, (which was left him by his Father, like an Incumbrance upon a great Estate), restored, by the Peace of *Cambrey*, not only the Quiet of his own Countries, but in a manner of all Christendom, which was in some Degree or other engaged in the Quarrel of these Princes. After this, he resolved to return into *Spain*, and leave the *Low Countries* under a subordinate Government; which had been till

Charles

Charles V.'s Time the constant Seat of their Princes, and shared the Presence of that great Emperor with the rest of his Dominions. But *Philip*, a *Spaniard* born, retaining, from the Climate or Education of that Country, the Severeness and Gravity of the Nation, which the *Flemings* called Reservedness and Pride; conferring the Offices of his House, and the Honour of his Council and Confidence, upon *Spaniards*, and thereby introducing their Customs, Habits, and Language, into the Court of *Flanders*; continuing, after the Peace, those *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, and the Demand of Supplies from the States which the War had made necessary, and the easier supported; he soon left off being loved, and began to be feared by the Inhabitants of those Provinces.

But *Philip II.* thought it not agreeing with the Pomp and Greatness of the House of *Austria*, already at the Head of so mighty Dominions, nor with his Designs of a yet greater Empire, to consider the Discontents or Grievances of so small a Country, nor to be limited by their ancient Forms of Government; and therefore, at his Departure for *Spain*, and Substitution of his natural Sister the Duchess of *Parma*, for Governess of the *Low Countries*, assisted by the Ministry of *Granvell*, he left her instructed to continue the foreign Troops, and the Demand of Money from the States for their Support; which was now by a long Course of War grown customary among them, and the Sums only disputed between the Prince and the States: To establish the fourteen Bishops, he had agreed with the Pope, should be added to the three that were

anciently in the *Low Countries*: To revive the Edicts of *Charles V.* against *Luther*, published in a Diet of the Empire about the Year 1550, but eluded in the *Low Countries* even in that Emperor's Time; and thereby to make way for the Inquisition with the same Course it had received in *Spain*; of which the *Lutherans* here, and the *Moors* there, were made an equal Pretence. And these Points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the first Commotions of Mens Minds in the Provinces.

The Hatred of the People against the *Spaniards*, and the Insolencies of those Troops, with the Charge of their Support, made them looked upon by the Inhabitants in general, as the Instruments of their Oppression and Slavery, and not of their Defence, when a general Peace had left them no Enemies: And therefore the States began here their Complaints, with a general Consent and Passion of all the Nobles, as well as Towns and Country. And, upon the Delays that were contrived, or fell in, the States first refused to raise any more Monies, either for the *Spaniards* Pay, or their own standing Troops; and the People ran into so great Despair, that in *Zeeland* they absolutely gave over the working at their Diques, suffering the Sea to gain every Tide upon the Country; and resolving (as they said) rather to be devoured by that Element, than by the *Spanish* Soldiers: So that, after many Disputes and Intrigues between the Governess and the Provinces, the King, upon her Remonstrances, was induced to their Removal, which was accordingly performed with great Joy and Applause of the People.

The

The erecting of fourteen new Bishops Sees, raised the next Contest. The great Lords looked upon this Innovation as a lessening of their Power, by introducing so many new Men into the great Council. The Abbots (out of whose Lands they were to be endowed) pleaded against it, as a violent Usurpation upon the Rights of the Church, and the Will of the Dead, who had given those Lands to a particular Use. The Commons murmured at it, as a new Degree of Oppression upon their Conscience or Liberty, by the erecting so many new spiritual Courts of Judicature, and so great a Number of Judges, being seventeen for three, that were before in the Country; and those depending absolutely upon the Pope or the King. And all Men declaimed against it, as a Breach of the King's Oath at his Accession to the Government, for the preserving the Church and the Laws in the same State he found them. However, this Point was gained entirely by the Governess, and carried over the Head of all Opposition, though not without leaving a general Discontent.

In the Midst of these ill Humours stirring in *Flanders*, the Wars of Religion breaking out in *France*, drove great Numbers of *Calvinists* into all those Parts of the *Low Countries* that confine upon *France*, as the Troubles of *Germany* had before of *Lutherans* into the *Provinces* about the *Rhine*; and the Persecutions under Queen *Mary*, those of the Church of *England* into *Flanders* and *Brabant*, by the great Commerce of this Kingdom with *Bruges* and *Antwerp*.

These Accidents and Neighbourhoods filled these Countries, in a small Tract of Time, with

Swarms of the Reformed Professors: And the Admiration of their Zeal; the Opinion of their Doctrine and Piety, the Compassion of their Sufferings, the Infusion of their Discontents; or the Humour of the Age, gained them every Day many Profelytes in the *Low Countries*, some among the Nobles, many among the Villages; but most among the Cities, whose Trade and Riches were much increased by these new Inhabitants, and whose Interest thereby, as well as Conversation, drew them on to their Favour.

This made Work for the *Inquisition*, though moderately exercised by the Prudence and Temper of the Governess, mediating between the Rigour of *Granvell*, who strained up to the highest his Master's Authority, and the Execution of his Commands upon all Occasions; and the Resoluteness of the Lords of the Provinces, to temper the King's Edicts, and protect the Liberties of their Country against the Admission of this new and arbitrary Judicature, unknown to all ancient Laws and Customs of the Country; and for that, not less odious to the People, than for the Cruelty of their Executions. For, before the *Inquisition*, the Care of Religion was in the Bishops; and before that, in the civil Magistrates throughout the Provinces.

Upon angry Debates in Council, but chiefly upon the universal Ministry of *Granvell*, a *Burgundian* of mean Birth, grown at last to a Cardinal, and more famous for the Greatness of his Parts, than the Goodness of his Life; the chief Lords of the Country (among whom the Prince of *Orange*, Counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Marquis of *Berghen* and *Montigny*, were most considerable)

siderable) grew to so violent and implacable a Hatred of the Cardinal, (whether from Passion or Interest), which was so universally spread through the whole Body of the People, either by the Causes of it, or the Example, that the Lords first refused their Attendance in Council, protesting, *Not to endure the Sight of a Man so absolute there, and to the Ruin of their Country:* And afterwards petitioned the King, in the Name of the whole Country, for his Removal. Upon the Delay whereof, and the Continuance of the Inquisition, the People appeared, upon daily Occasions and Accidents, heated to that Degree, as threatened a general Combustion in the whole Body, when-ever the least Flame should break out in any Part.

But the King at length consented to *Gratwell's* Recess, by the Opinion of the *Duchess of Parma*, as well as the Pursuit of the Provinces. Whereupon the Lords re-assumed their Places in Council; *Count Egmont* was sent into *Spain* to represent the Grievances of the Provinces; and being favourably dispatched by the King, especially by remitting the Rigour of the Edicts about Religion, and the Inquisition, all Noise of Discontent and Tumult was appeased, the Lords were made use of by the Governess in the Council, and Conduct of Affairs; and the Governess was by the Lords both obeyed and honoured.

In the Beginning of the Year 1565, there was a Conference at *Bayonne* between *Katharine* Queen-Mother of *France*, and her Son *Charles IX.* (though very young), with his Sister *Isabella* Queen of *Spain*; in which no other Person but the *Duke of Alva* interveened, being deputed thither

thither by *Philip*, who excused his own Presence, and thereby made this Interview pass for an Effect or Expression of Kindness between the Mother and her Children. Whether great Resolutions are the more suspected, where great Secrecy is observed; or if it be true, what the Prince of *Orange* affirmed to have by Accident discovered, That the Extirpation of all Families which should profess the new Religion in the *French* or *Spanish* Dominions, was here agreed on, with mutual Assistance of the two Crowns; it is certain, and was owned, that Matters of Religion were the Subject of that Conference; and that soon after, in the same Year, came Letters from King *Philip* to the Duchess of *Parma*, disclaiming the Interpretation which had been given to his Letters by Count *Egmont*, declaring, his Pleasure was, That all Hereticks should be put to Death without Remission; that the Emperor's Edicts, and the Council of *Trent*, should be published and observed; and commanding, That the utmost Assistance of the civil Power should be given to the *Inquisition*.

When this was divulged at first, the Astonishment was great throughout their Provinces; but that soon gave way to their Rage, which began to appear in their Looks, in their Speeches, their bold Meetings and Libels; and was increased by the miserable Spectacles of so many Executions upon account of Religion: the Constancy of the Sufferers, and Compassion of the Beholders, conspiring generally to lessen the Opinion of Guilt or Crime, and heighten a Detestation of the Punishment, and Desire of Revenge, against

against the Authors of that Council; of whom the Duke of *Alva* was esteemed the Chief.

In the Beginning of the Year 1566, began an open Mutiny of the Citizens in many Towns, hindring Executions, and forcing Prisons and Officers: And this was followed by a Confederacy of the Lords, never to suffer the *Inquisition* in the *Low Countries*, as contrary to all Laws, both sacred and profane, and exceeding the Cruelty of all former Tyrannies. Upon which all Resolutions of Force or Rigour grew unsafe for the Government, now too weak for such a Revolution of the People: And, on the other side, *Brederode*, in Confidence of the general Favour, came in the Head of two hundred Gentlemen, through the Provinces, to *Brussels*, and in bold Terms petitioned the Governours for abolishing the *Inquisition*, and Edicts about Religion; and that new ones should be framed by a Convention of the States.

The Governours was forced to use gentle Remedies to so violent a Disease; to receive the Petition without Shew of the Resentment he had at Heart, and to promise a Representation of their Desires to the King; which was accordingly done. But though the King was startled with such Consequences of his last Commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet, whether by the Slowness of his Nature, or the Forms of the *Spanish* Court, the Answer came too late. And as all his former Concessions, either by Delay, or Testimonies of ill Will or Meaning in them, had lost the good Grace, so this lost absolutely the Effect, and came into the *Low Countries* when all was in Flame, by an Insurrection
of

of the meaner People through many great Towns of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*: who fell violently upon the Spoil of Churches, and Destruction of Images, with a thousand Circumstances of barbarous and brutish Fury; which, with the Institution of Consistories and Magistrates in each Town among those of the Reformed Profession, with publick Confederacies and Distinctions, and private Contributions agreed upon for the Support of their common Cause, gave the first Date, in this Year of 1566, to the Revolt of the *Low Countries*.

But the Nobility of the Country, and the richest of the People in the Cities, though unsatisfied with the Government; yet feeling the Effects, and abhorring the Rage of popular Tumults, as the worst Mischief that can befall any State; and encouraged by the Arrival of the King's Concessions, began to unite their Counsels and Forces with those of the Governels, and to employ themselves, both with great Vigour and Loyalty, for suppressing the late Insurrections that had seized upon many, and shaken most of the Cities of the Provinces; in which the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* were great Instruments, by the Authority of their great Charges, (one being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the other of *Flanders*), but more by the general Love and Confidence of the People; till, by the reducing *Valenciens*, *Maestricht*, and the *Burse*, by Arms; the Submission of *Antwerp* and other Towns; the Defection of Count *Egmont* from the Councils of the confederate Lords, (as they were called); the Retreat of the Prince of *Orange* into *Germany*, and the Death of *Brede-*
rode,

rode, with the News and Preparations of King Philip's sudden Journey into the *Low Countries*, as well as the Prudence and Moderation of the Dukes in governing all these Circumstances; the whole Estate of the Provinces was perfectly restored to its former Peace, Obedience, and, at least, Appearance of Loyalty.

King Philip, whether having never really decreed his Journey into *Flanders*, or diverted by the Pacification of the Provinces, and Apprehension of the *Moor*s rebelling in *Spain*, or a Distrust of his Son Prince Charles's violent Passions and Dispositions, or the Expectation of what had been resolved at *Bayonne* growing ripe for Execution in *France*; gave over the Discourse of seeing the *Low Countries*: But, at the same time, took up the Resolution for dispatching the Duke of *Alva* thither at the Head of an Army of ten thousand veteran *Spanish* and *Italian* Troops, for the Assistance of the Governess, the Execution of the Laws, the Suppressing and Punishment of all who had been Authors or Fomenters of the late Seditions.

This Result was put suddenly in Execution, though wholly against the Advice of the Dukes of *Parma* in *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Feria* (one of the chief Ministers) in *Spain*; who thought the present Peace of the Provinces ought not to be invaded by new Occasions; nor the Royal Authority lessened, by being made a Party in a War upon his Subjects; nor a Minister employed, where he was so professedly both hating, and hated, as the Duke of *Alva* in the *Low Countries*.

But the King was unmoveable; so that, in the
End

End of the Year 1567, the Duke of *Alva* arrived there with an Army of ten thousand, the best *Spanish* and *Italian* Soldiers, under the Command of the choicest Officers, which the Wars of *Charles V.* or *Philip II.* had bred up in *Europe*; which, with two thousand *Germans*, the *Duchess* of *Parma* had raised in the last Tumults; and under the Command of so old and renowned a General as the Duke of *Alva*, made up a Force, which nothing in the *Low Countries* could look in the Face with other Eyes, than of Astonishment, Submission, or Despair.

Upon the first Report of this Expedition, the trading People of the Towns and Country began in vast Numbers to retire out of the Provinces; so, as the *Duchess* wrote to the King, that, in few Days, above a hundred thousand Men had left the Country, and withdrawn both their Money and Goods, and more were following every Day. So great Antipathy there ever appears between Merchants and Soldiers; whilst one pretends to be safe under Laws, which the other pretends shall be subject to his Sword, and his Will. And upon the first Action of the Duke of *Alva* after his Arrival, which was the seizing Count *Egmont* and *Horn*, as well as the suspected Death of the Marquis of *Berghen*, and Imprisonment of *Montigny* in *Spain*, (whither some Months before they had been sent with Commission and Instructions from the *Duchess*), she immediately desired Leave of the King to retire out of the *Low Countries*.

This was easily obtained, and the Duke of *Alva* invested in the Government, with Powers never given before to any Governor. A Council

cit of twelve was erected for Trial of all Crimes
 committed against the King's Authority, which
 was called by the People, *The Council of Blood*.
 Great Numbers were condemned and executed
 by Sentence of this Council, upon account of
 the late Insurrections; more by that of the *In-*
quisition, against the parting Advice of the Du-
 ches of *Parma*, and the Exclamations of the
 People at those illegal Courts. The Towns sto-
 mached the Breach of their Charters, the People
 of their Liberties, the Knights of the Golden
 Fleece the Charters of their Order, by these new
 and odious Courts of Judicature. All complain
 of the Difuse of the States, of the Introduction
 of Armies; but all in vain. The King was con-
 stant to what he had determined; *Alva* was in
 his Nature cruel and inexorable; the new Army
 was fierce and brave, and desirous of nothing so
 much as a Rebellion in the Country. The Peo-
 ple were enraged, but awed and unheaded: All
 was Seizure and Process, Confiscation and Im-
 prisonment, Blood and Horror, Insolence and
 Dejection, Punishments executed and meditated
 Revenge; the smaller Branches were lopped off
 apace, the great ones were longer a-hewing
 down. Count *Egmont* and *Horn* lasted several
 Months; but, at length, in spite of all their Ser-
 vices to *Charles V.* and to *Philip*, as well as of
 their new Merits, in the quieting of the Provin-
 ces, and of so great Supplications and Interces-
 sions as were made in their favour, both in
Spain and in *Flanders*, they were publicly be-
 headed at *Brussels*: Which seemed to break all
 Patience in the People; and, by their End, to
 give those Commotions a Beginning, which cost

Europe so much Blood, and Spain a great Part of the Low Country Provinces.

After the Process of *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Prince of *Orange*, who was retired into *Germany*, was summoned to his Trial for the same Crimes of which the others had been accused; and, upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaimed Traitor, and his whole Estate, which was very great in the Provinces, (and in *Burgundy*), seized upon, as forfeited to the King. The Prince, treated in this Manner, while he was quiet and unarmed in *Germany*, employs all his Credit with those Princes engaged to him by Alliance, or by common Fears of the House of *Austria*, throws off all Obedience to the Duke of *Alva*, raises Forces, joins with great Numbers flocking to him out of the Provinces; all enraged at the Duke of *Alva's* cruel and arbitrary Government, and resolved to revenge the Count *Egmont's* Death, (who had ever been the Darling of the People). With these Troops he enters *Friesland*, and invades the outward Parts of *Brabant*; receives Succours from the Protestants of *France*, then in Arms under the Prince of *Conde*: And after many various Encounters and Successes, by the great Conduct of *Alva*, and Valour of his veteran Army, being hindered from seizing upon any Town in *Brabant*, (which both of them knew would shake the Fidelity of the Provinces), he is at length forced to break up his Army, and to retire into *Germany*. Hereupon *Alva* returns in Triumph to *Brussels*; and, as if he had made a Conquest instead of a Defence, causes, out of the Cannon taken from *Lewis* of *Nassau*, his Statue to be cast in Brass, treading

treading and insulting upon two smaller Statues, that represented the two Estates of the *Low Countries*; and this to be erected in the Citadel he had built at *Antwerp*, for the absolute subjeeting of that rich, populous, and mutinous Town.

Nothing had raised greater Indignation among the *Flemings*, than the publick Sight and Ostentation of this Statue; and the more, because they knew the Boast to be true, finding their ancient Liberties and Privileges (the Inheritance of so many Ages, or Bounty of so many Princes) all now prostrate before this one Man's Sword and Will; who, from the Time of *Charles V.* had ever been esteemed an Enemy of their Nation, and Author of all the Counsels for the absolute subduing their Country.

But *Alva*, moved with no Ramours, terrified with no Threats from a broken and unarmed People, and thinking no Measures nor Forms were any more necessary to be observed in the *Low Countries*, pretends greater Sums are necessary for the Pay and Reward of his victorious Troops, than were annually granted, upon the King's Request, by the States of the Provinces; and therefore demands a general Tax of the hundredth Part of every Man's Estate in the *Low Countries* to be raised at once; and, for the future, the twentieth of all Immoveables, and the tenth of all that was sold.

The States, with much Reluctancy, consent to the first, as a Thing that ended at once; but refused the other two, alledging the Poverty of the Provinces, and the Ruin of Trade. Upon the Duke's persisting, they petition the King by

Messengers into *Spain*, but without Redress; draw out the Year in Contests, sometimes stomachful, sometimes humble, with the Governor; till the Duke, impatient of further Delay, causes the Edict, without Consent of the States, to be published at *Brussels*. The People refuse to pay, the Soldiers begin to levy by Force; the Townsmen all shut up their Shops; the People in the Country forbear the Market, so as not so much as Bread or Meat is to be bought in the Town. The Duke is enraged, and calls the Soldiers to Arms, and commands several of the Inhabitants who refused the Payments, to be hanged that very Night upon their Sign-posts; which nothing moves the Obstinacy of the People. And now the Officers and the Guards are ready to begin the Executions, when News comes to Town of the taking of the *Briel* by the *Gueses*, and of the Expectation that had given of a sudden Revolt in the Province of *Holland*.

This unexpected Blow struck the Duke of *Alva*; and foreseeing the Consequences of it, because he knew the Stubble was dry, and now he found the Fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill Time to make an End of the Tragedy in *Brabant*, whilst a new Scene was opened in *Holland*: And so, giving over for the present his Taxes and Executions, applies his Thoughts to the Suppression of this new Enemy that broke in upon him from the Sea; and, for that Reason, the Bottom and Reach of the Design, as well as the Nature and Strength of their Forces, were to the Duke the less known, and the more suspected. Now, because this Seizure of the *Briel* began the second great Commotion of the *Low Countries*, in

1570, and that which indeed never ended, but in the Loss of those Provinces, where the Death of the *Spanish* and Royal Government gave Life to a new Commonwealth; it will be necessary to know, what sort of Men, and by what Accidents united, and by what Fears or Hopes emboldened, were the first Authors of this Adventure.

Upon *Brederoode's* delivering a Petition to the Duchess of *Parma* against the *Inquisition*, and for some Liberty in point of Religion, those Persons which attended him, looking mean in their Cloaths and their Garb, were called by one of the Courtiers, at their Entrance into the Palace, *Guefes*, which signifies *Beggars*; a Name, tho' raised by Chance, or by Scorn, yet affected by the Party, as an Expression of Humility and Distress, and used ever after by both Sides, as a Name of Distinction, comprehending all who dissented from the *Roman Church*, how different soever in Opinion among themselves.

These Men, spread in great Numbers through the whole Extent of the Provinces, by the Accidents and Dispositions already mentioned, after the appeasing of their first Sedition, were broken in their common Councils; and, by the Cruelty of the *Inquisition*, and Rigour of *Alva*, were in great Multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at least, such as had Means or Hopes of subsisting abroad. Many of the poorer and more desperate fled into the Woods of the upper Countries, (where they are thick and wild), and lived upon Spoil; and, in the first Descent of the Prince of *Orange's* Forces, did great Mischief to all scattered Parties of the Duke of *Alva's* Troops in their March through those Parts.

But, after that Attempt of the Prince ended without Success, and he was forced back into *Germany*, the Count of *Marcke*, a violent and implacable Enemy to the Duke of *Alva* and his Government, with many others of the broken Troops, (whom the same Fortune and Disposition had left together in *Friezland*), manned out some Ships of small Force, and betook themselves to Sea, and, with Commissions from the Prince of *Orange*, began to prey upon all they could master, that belonged to the *Spaniards*. They sometimes sheltered and watered, and sold their Prizes in some Creeks or small Harbours of *England*, though forbidden by Queen *Elizabeth*, then in Peace with *Spain*; sometimes in the River *Ems*, or some small Ports of *Friezland*; till at length, having gained considerable Riches by these Adventures, whether to sell, or to refresh, whether driven by Storm, or led by Design, (upon Knowledge of the ill Blood which the new Taxes had bred in all the Provinces), they landed in the Island of the *Briel*, assaulted and carried the Town, pulled down the Images in the Churches, professed openly their Religion, declared against the Taxes and Tyranny of the *Spanish* Government, and were immediately followed by the Revolt of most of the Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friezland*; who threw out the *Spanish* Garrisons, renounced their Obedience to King *Philip*, and swore Fidelity to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince returned out of *Germany* with new Forces; and, making use of this Fury of the People, contented not himself with *Holland* and *Zealand*, but marched up into the very
Heart

Heart of the Provinces, within five Leagues of *Brussels*, seizing upon *Mechlin*, and many other Towns, with so great Consent, Applause, and Concourse of People, that the whole *Spanish* Dominion now seemed ready to expire in the *Low Countries*, if it had not been revived by the Massacre of the Protestants at *Paris*; which, contrived by joint Counsels with King *Philip*, and acted by a *Spanish* Party in the Court of *France*, and with so fatal a Blow to the contrary Faction, encouraged the Duke of *Alva*, and damped the Prince of *Orange* in the same Degree; so that one gathers Strength enough to defend the Heart of the Provinces, and the other retires into *Holland*, and makes that the Seat of the War.

This Country was strong by its Nature and Seat among the Waters that encompass and divide it; but more, by a rougher sort of People at that Time, less softened by Trade, or by Riches; less used to Grants of Money and Taxes; and proud of their ancient Fame, recorded in the *Roman* Stories, of being obstinate Defenders of their Liberties; and now most implacable Haters of the *Spanish* Name.

All these Dispositions were increased and hardened, in the War that ensued under the Duke of *Alva's* Conduct, or his Sons, by the Slaughter of all innocent Persons and Sexes, upon the taking of *Natarden*, where the Houses were burnt, and the Walls levelled to the Ground; by the desperate Defence of *Haerlem* for ten Months, with all the Practices and Returns of Ignominy, Cruelty, and Scorn on both Sides; while the very Women lifted themselves in Companies, repaired Breaches, gave Alarms, and beat up
Quarters,

Quarters, till, all being famished, four hundred Burghers (after the Surrender) were killed in cold Blood, among many other Examples of an incensed Conqueror; which made the Humour of the Parties grow more desperate, and their Hatred to Spain and *Alva* incurable.

The same Army, broken and forced to rise from before *Almaer*, after a long and fierce Siege in *Alva's* Time, and from before *Leyden* in the Time of *Requiesnes*, (where the Boors themselves opened the Sluices, and drowned the Country, resolving to mischief the *Spaniards* at the Charge of their own Ruin), gave the great Turn to Affairs in *Holland*.

The King grows sensible of Danger, and apprehensive of the total Defection of the Provinces; *Alva* weary of his Government, finding his violent Counsels and Proceedings had raised a Spirit, which was quiet before he came, and was never to be laid any more: the Duke is recalled, and the War goes on under *Requiesnes*; who dying suddenly, and without Provisions made by the King for a Successor, the Government, by Customs of the Country, devolved by way of Interim upon the Great Council; which lasted some time, by the Delay of *Don John* of *Austria's* coming, who was declared the new Governor.

But, in this Interim, the Strength of the Disease appears: For, upon the Mutiny of some *Spanish* Troops, for want of their Pay, and their Seizing *Alost*, a Town near *Brussels*, the People grow into a Rage, the Tradesmen give over their Shops, and the Countrymen their Labour, and all run to Arms. In *Brussels* they force the Senate,

Senate, pull out those Men they knew to be most addicted to the *Spaniards*, kill such of that Nation as they meet in the Streets; and all in general cry out for the Expulsion of Foreigners out of the *Low Countries*, and the Assembling of the States; to which the Council is forced to consent. In the mean time, the chief Persons of the Provinces enter into an Agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, to carry on the common Affairs of the Provinces by the same Counsels; so as when the States assembled at *Ghent*, without any Contest, they agreed upon that Act, which was called *The Pacification of Ghent*, in the Year 1576; whereof the chief Articles were, *The Expulsion of all foreign Soldiers out of the Provinces; restoring all the ancient Forms of Government; and referring Matters of Religion in each Province to the Provincial Estates; and that, for Performance hereof, the rest of the Provinces should for ever be confederate with Holland and Zealand.* And this made the first Period of the *Low Country Troubles*, proving to King *Philip* a dear Experience, how little the best Conduct, and boldest Armies, are able to withstand the Torrent of a stubborn and enraged People; which ever bears all down before it, till it comes to be divided into different Channels, by Arts, or by Chance, or till the Springs, which are the Humours that fed it, come to be spent, or dry up of themselves.

The foreign Forces, refusing to depart, are declared Rebels: Whereupon the *Spanish* Troops force and plunder several Towns, and *Antwerp* among the rest, (by Advantage of the Citadel), with equal Courage and Avarice; and defend themselves

themselves in several Holds from the Forces of the States, till *Don John's* Arrival at *Luxemburg*, the only Town of the Provinces where he thought himself safe, as not involved in the Defection of the rest.

The Estates refuse to admit him, without his accepting and confirming the Pacification of *Ghent*, which at length he does, by Leave from the King, and enters upon the Government with the Dismission of all foreign Troops, which return into *Italy*. But, soon after, *Don John*, whether out of Indignation to see himself but a precarious Governor, without Force or Dependence, or desiring new Occasions of Fame by a War, or instructed from *Spain* upon new Counsels, takes the Occasion of complimenting Queen *Margaret* of *Navar* upon her Journey out of *France* to the *Spain*, and on a sudden seizes upon the Castle of *Namur*. Whereupon the Provinces for the third Time throw off their Obedience, call the Prince of *Orange* to *Brussels*, where he is made Prorektor of *Brabant*, by the States of that Province, and Preparations are made on both Sides for the War; while *Spain* is busy to form new Armies, and draw them together in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*, the only Provinces obedient to that Crown; and all the rest agree to elect a Governor of their own, and send to *Matthias*, the Emperor's Brother, to offer him the Charge.

At this Time began to be formed the male-content Party in the *Low Countries*; which, tho' agreeing with the rest in their Hatred to the *Spaniards*, and Defence of their Liberties and Laws, yet were not inclined to shake off their Allegiance

Allegiance to their Prince, nor change their old and established Religion. And these were headed by the Duke of *Archebat*, and several great Men, the more averse from a general Defection, by Emulation or Envy of the Prince of *Orange's* Greatness; who was now grown to have all the Influence and Credit in the Counsels of the League.

By the Assistance of this Party, after *Don John's* sudden Death, the Duke of *Parma*, succeeding him, gained Strength and Reputation upon his coming to the Government, and an Entrance upon that great Scene of Glory and Victory, which made both his Person so renowned, and the Time of his Government signalized, by so many Sieges and Battles, and the Reduction of so great a Part of the Body of the Provinces to the Subjection of *Spain*.

Upon the Growth of this Party, and for Distinction from them, who, pursuing a middle and dangerous Counsel, were at length to become an Accession to one of the Extremes, the more Northern Provinces, meeting by their Deputies at *Utrecht*, in the Year 1579, framed an Act or Alliance, which was ever after called, *The Union of Utrecht*; and was the original Constitution and Frame of that Commonwealth, which has since been so well known in the World by the Name of *The United Provinces*.

This Union was grounded upon the *Spaniards* Breach of the *Pacification of Ghent*, and new Invasion of some Towns in *Gelderland*; and was not pretended to divide these Provinces from the Generallty, nor from the said *Pacification*, but

to strengthen and pursue the Ends of it, by more vigorous and united Counsels and Arms.

The chief Force of this Union consists in these Points, drawn out of the Instrument itself.

The Seven Provinces unite themselves; so as if they were but One Province, and so as never to be divided by Testament, Donation, Exchange, Sale, or Agreement; reserving to each particular Province and City, all Privileges, Rights, Customs, and Statutes; in adjudging whereof, or Differences that shall arise between any of the Provinces, the rest shall not intermeddle further, than to intercede towards an Agreement.

They bind themselves to assist one another with Life and Fortunes, against all Force and Assault made upon any of them, whether upon Pretence of Royal Majesty, of restoring Catholick Religion, or any other whatsoever.

All Frontier-towns belonging to the Union, if old, to be fortified at the Charge of the Province where they lie; if new, to be erected at the Charge of the Generality.

All Imposts and Customs, from three Months to three Months, to be offered to them that bid most; and, with the Incomes of the Royal Majesty, to be employed for the common Defence.

All Inhabitants to be listed and trained within a Month, from eighteen to sixty Years old. Peace and War not to be made without Consent of all the Provinces; other Cases, that concern the Management of both, by most Voices. Differences that shall arise upon the first between the Provinces, to be submitted to the Stadtholders.

Neighbouring

Neighbouring Princes, Lords, Lands, and Cities, to be admitted into the Union by Consent of the Provinces.

For Religion, those of *Holland* and *Zealand*, to act in it as seems good unto themselves. The other Provinces may regulate themselves according to the Tenor established by *Matthias*, or else as they shall judge to be most for the Peace and Welfare of their particular Provinces; provided every one remain free in his Religion, and no Man be examined or intrapped for that Cause, according to the Pacification of *Ghent*.

In case of any Dissension or Differences between Provinces, if it concern one in particular, it shall be accommodated by the others; if it concern all in general, by the Stadtholders: In both which Cases, Sentence to be pronounced within a Month, and without Appeal or Revision.

The States to be held as has been formerly used, and the Mint in such manner as shall hereafter be agreed by all the Provinces.

Interpretation of these Articles to remain in the States; but in case of their differing, in the Stadtholders.

They bind themselves to fall upon, and imprison any that shall act contrary to these Articles; in which Case, no Privilege nor Exemption to be valid.

This Act was signed by the Deputies of *Guelderland*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and the Omlands of *Frize*, Jan. 23. 1579; but was not signed by the Prince of *Orange* till May following; and with this Signification, judging,

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that by the same the Superiority and Authority of Archduke *Matthias* is not lessened,

In the same Year, this Union was entered and signed by the Cities of *Ghent, Nimmeguen, Arnhem, Leewarden*, with some particular Nobles of *Friezland, Venlo, Xpres, Antwerp, Breda, and Bruges*. And thus these Provinces became a Commonwealth; but in so low and uncertain a State of Affairs, by reason of the various Motions and Affections of Mens Minds, the different Ends and Interests of the several Parties, especially in the other Provinces, and the mighty Power and Preparations of the *Spanish* Monarchy to oppress them, that in their first Coin they caused a Ship to be stamped, labouring among the Waves without Sails or Oars, and these Words, *Incertum quò fata ferant*.

I thought so particular a Deduction necessary, to discover the natural Causes of this Revolution in the *Low Countries*, which has since had so great a Part, for near a hundred Years, in all the Actions and Negotiations of Christendom; and to find out the true Incentives of that obstinate Love for their Liberties, and invincible Hatred for the *Spanish* Nation and Government, which laid the Foundation of this Commonwealth. And this last I take to have been the stronger Passion, and of the greater Effect, both in the bold Counsels of contracting their Union, and the desperate Resolutions of defending it. For not long after, the whole Council of this new State, being pressed by the Extremities of their Affairs, passing by the Form of Government in the way of a Commonwealth, made an earnest and solemn Offer of the Dominion of these

these Provinces both to *England* and *France*; but were refused by both Crowns. And though they retained the Name of a free People, yet they soon lost the Ease of the Liberties they contended for, by the Absoluteness of their Magistrates in the several Cities and Provinces, and by the extreme Pressure of their Taxes, which so long a War, with so mighty an Enemy, made necessary for the Support of their State.

But the Hatred of the *Spanish* Government, under *Alva*, was so universal, that it made the Revolt general through the Provinces, running through all Religions, and all Orders of Men, as appeared by the Pacification of *Ghent*; till, by the Division of the Parties, by the Powers of so vast a Monarchy as *Spain* at that Time, and by the matchless Conduct and Valour of the Duke of *Parma*, this Humour, like Poison in a strong Constitution, and with the Help of violent Physick, was expelled from the Heart, which was *Flanders* and *Brabant*, (with the rest of the Ten Provinces), into the outward Members; and, by their being cut off, the Body was saved. After which, the most inflamed Spirits being driven by the Arms of *Spain*, or drawn by the Hopes of Liberty and Safety, into the United Provinces out of the rest, the Hatred of *Spain* grew to that Height, that they were not only willing to submit to any new Dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no Master to protect them, and their Affairs grew desperate, they were once certainly upon the Counsel of burning their great Towns, wasting and drowning what they could of their own Country, and going to seek some new Seats

in the *Indies*. Which they might have executed, if they had found Shipping enough to carry off all their Numbers, and had not been detained by the Compassion of those which must have been left behind, at the Mercy of an incensed and conquering Master.

The *Spanish* and *Italian* Writers content themselves to attribute the Causes of these Revolutions to the Change of Religion, to the native Stubbornness of the People, and to the Ambition of the Princes of *Orange*. But Religion, without Mixtures of Ambition and Interest, works no such violent Effects; and produces rather the Examples of constant Sufferings, than of desperate Actions. The Nature of the People cannot change of a sudden, no more than the Climate which infuses it; and no Country hath brought forth better Subjects, than many of these Provinces, both before and since these Commotions among them: And the Ambition of one Man could neither have designed or achieved so great an Adventure, had it not been seconded with universal Discontent: Nor could that have been raised to so great a Height and Heat, without so many Circumstances as fell in from an unhappy Course of the *Spanish* Councils, to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to head such a Body, and give it so strong a Principle of Life, and so regular Motions, without the Accident of so great a Governor in the Provinces as Prince *William* of *Orange*; a Man of equal Abilities in Council and in Arms; cautious and resolute, affable and severe; supple to Occasions, and yet constant to his Ends; of mighty Revenues and Dependence in the Provinces;

vinces; of great Credit and Alliance in *Germany*; esteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely loved and trusted by the People; who thought him affectionate to their Country, sincere in his Professions and Designs, able and willing to defend their Liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any Ambition of his own; yet all these Qualities might very well have been confined to the Duty and Services of a Subject, as they were in *Charles V.*'s Time; without the Absence of the King, and the Peoples Opinion of his Ill-will to their Nation and their Laws; without the Continuance of foreign Troops after the Wars were ended; the erecting of the new Bishops Sees, and introducing the *Inquisition*; the sole Ministry of *Granvell*, and Exclusion of the Lords from their usual Part in Counsels and Affairs; the Government of a Man so hated as the Duke of *Alva*; the Rigour of his Prosecutions, and the Insolence of his Statue; and, lastly, without the Death of *Egmont*, and the Imposition of the tenth and twentieth Part, against the legal Forms of Government, in a Country where a long derived Succession had made the People fond and tenacious of their ancient Customs and Laws.

These were the Seeds of their Hatred to *Spain*; which, increasing by the Course of about threescore Years War, was not allayed by a long succeeding Peace; but will appear to have been an Ingredient into the Fall, as it was into the Rise of this State; which, having been thus planted, came to be conserved and cultivated by many Accidents and Influences from abroad: But those having had no Part in the Constitution

of their State, nor the Frame of their Government, I will content myself to mention only the chief of them, which most contributed to preserve the Infancy of this Commonwealth, and make way for its Growth: the Causes of its succeeding Greatness and Riches being not to be sought for in the Events of their Wars, but in the Institutions and Orders of their Government, their Customs, and Trade; which will make the Arguments of the ensuing Chapters.

When *Don John* threw off the Conditions he had at first accepted of the Pacification of *Ghent*, and by the Surprise of *Namur* broke out into Arms, the Estate of the Provinces offered the Government of their Country to *Matthias*, Brother to the Emperor, as a Temper between their Return to the Obedience of *Spain*, and the popular Government which was moulding in the Northern Provinces. But *Matthias*, arriving without the Advice or Support of the Emperor, or Credit in the Provinces; and having the Prince of *Orange* given him for his Lieutenant-General, was only a Cypher, and his Government a Piece of Pageantry; which passed without Effect, and was soon ended. So that, upon the Duke of *Parma's* taking on him the Government, some new Protection was necessary to this Infant-state, that had not Legs to support it against such a Storm as was threatened upon the Return of the *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, to make the Body of a formidable Army, which the Duke of *Parma* was forming in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*.

Since the Conference of *Bayonne*, between the Queen-Mother of *France*, and her Daughter Queen of *Spain*, those two Crowns had continued,

ned, in the Reign of *Francis* and *Charles*, to assist one another in the common Design there agreed on, of prosecuting with Violence those they called the *Hereticks*, in both their Dominions. The Peace held constant, if not kind, between *England* and *Spain*; so as King *Philip* had no Wars upon his Hands in Christendom, during these Commotions in the *Low Countries*: And the Boldness of the Confederates, in their first Revolt and Union, seemed greater at such a Time, than the Success of their Resistances afterwards, when so many Occasions fell in to weaken and divert the Forces of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

For *Henry III.* coming to the Crown of *France*, and at first only fettered and controuled by the Faction of the *Guises*, but afterwards engaged in an open War, (which they had raised against him, upon Pretext of preserving the Catholick Religion, and in a Conjunction of Counsels with *Spain*), was forced into better Measures with the *Hugonots* of his Kingdom, and fell into ill Intelligence with *Philip II.*; so as, Queen *Elizabeth* having declined to undertake openly the Protection of the *Low Country* Provinces, it was, by the concurring Resolution of the States, and the Consent of the *French* Court, devolved upon the Duke of *Alencon*, Brother to *Henry III.*

But this Prince entered *Antwerp* with an ill Presage to the *Flemings*, by an Attempt which a *Biscainer* made the same Day upon the Prince of *Orange's* Life, shooting him, though not mortally, in the Head: And he continued his short Government with such mutual Distastes between the *French* and the *Flemings*, (the Heat and Violence

lence of one Nation agreeing ill with the Customs and Liberties of the other), that the Duke, attempting to make himself absolute Master of the City of *Antwerp* by Force, was driven out of the Town; and thereupon retired out of the Country, with extreme Resentment of the *Flemings*, and Indignation of the *French*; so as, the Prince of *Orange* being not long after assassined at *Delph*, and the Duke of *Parma* increasing daily in Reputation and in Force, and the malecontent Party falling back apace to his Obedience, an End was prefigured by most Men to the Affairs of the Confederates.

But the Root was deeper, and not so easily shaken. For the *United Provinces*, after the unhappy Transactions with the *French*, under the Duke of *Alencon*, reassumed their Union in 1583, binding themselves, in case by Fury of the War any Point of it had not been observed, to endeavour from that Time to see it effected; in case any Doubt had happened, to see it cleared; and any Difficulties, composed. And, in regard the Article concerning Religion had been so framed in the Union, because in all the other Provinces, besides *Holland* and *Zealand*, the *Romish* Religion was then used, but now the *Evangelical*; it was agreed by all the Provinces of the Union, That, from this Time, in them all, the *Evangelical Reformed Religion* should alone be openly preached and exercised.

They were so far from being broken in their Designs by the Prince of *Orange's* Death, that they did all the Honour that could be to his Memory, substituted Prince *Maurice* his Son, though but sixteen Years old, in all his Honours and
Commands;

Commands; and obstinately refused all Overtures that were made them of Peace, resolving upon all the most desperate Actions and Sufferings, rather than return under the *Spanish* Obedience.

But these Spirits were fed and heightened, in a great Degree, by the Hopes and Countenance given them about this Time from *England*. For Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Philip II.* though they still preserved the Name of Peace; yet had worn out, in a manner, the Effects as well as the Dispositions of it; whilst the *Spaniard* fomented and assisted the Insurrections of the *Irish*, and Queen *Elizabeth* the new Commonwealth in the *Low Countries*; though neither directly, yet by Countenance, Money, voluntary Troops, and Ways that were equally felt on both Sides, and equally understood.

King *Philip* had lately increased the Greatness of his Empire, by the Inheritance or Invasion of the Kingdoms of *Portugal*, upon King *Sebastian's* Loss in *Africa*. But I know not whether he had increased his Power, by the Accession of a Kingdom, with disputed Title, and a discontented People; who could neither be used like good Subjects, and governed without Armies; nor like a conquered Nation, and so made to bear the Charge of their forced Obedience. But this Addition of Empire, with the vast Treasure flowing every Year out of the *Indies*; had, without question, raised King *Philip's* Ambition to vaster Designs; which made him embrace, at once, the Protection of the League in *France* against *Henry III.* and *IV.* and the Donation made him of *Ireland* by the Pope, and so imbarck himself in a War with both those Crowns, while he

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was bearded with the open Arms and Defiance of his own Subjects in the *Low Countries*.

But it is hard to be imagined, how far the Spirit of one great Man goes in the Fortunes of any Army or State. The Duke of *Parma*, coming to the Government without any Footing in more than two of the smallest Provinces, collecting an Army from *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the broken Troops of the Country left him by *Don John*, having all the other Provinces confederated against him, and both *England* and *France* beginning to take open Part in their Defence; yet, by Force of his own Valour, Conduct, and the Discipline of his Army, with the disinterested and generous Qualities of his Mind, winning equally upon the Hearts and Arms of the revolted Countries, and piercing through the Provinces with an uninterrupted Course of Successes, and the Recovery of the most important Towns in *Flanders*; at last, by the taking of *Antwerp* and *Groningue*, reduced the Affairs of the Union to so extreme Distress, that, being grown destitute of all Hopes and Succours from *France*, (then deep engaged in their own civil Wars), they threw themselves wholly at the Feet of Queen *Elizabeth*, imploring her Protection, and offering her the Sovereignty of their Country. The Queen refused the Dominion; but entered into Articles with their Deputies in 1585, obliging herself to very great Supplies of Men and of Monies, lent them upon the Security of the *Briel*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*; which were performed, and Sir *John Norris* sent over to command her Forces: And afterwards, in 1587, upon the War broken out with *Spain*, and the mighty Threats

Threats of the *Spanish Armada*, she sent over yet greater Forces under the Earl of *Leicester*, whom the States admitted, and swore Obedience to him, as Governor of their *United Provinces*.

But this Government lasted not long; Distastes and Suspicions soon breaking out between *Leicester* and the States; partly from the Jealousy of his affecting an absolute Dominion, and arbitrary Disposal of all Offices; but chiefly, of the Queen's Intentions to make a Peace with *Spain*; and the easy Loss of some of their Towns, by Governors placed in them by the Earl of *Leicester*, increased their Discontents. Notwithstanding this ill Intercourse, the Queen reassures them in both those Points, disapproves some of *Leicester's* Proceedings, receives frank and hearty Assurances from them in her naval Preparations against the *Spaniards*; and, at length, upon the Disorders increasing between the Earl of *Leicester* and the States, commands him to resign his Government, and release the States of the Oath they had taken to obey him. And, after all this had past, the Queen easily sacrificing all particular Resentments to the Interest of her Crown, continued her Favour, Protection, and Assurances to the States, during the whole Course of her Reign; which were returned with the greatest Deference and Veneration to her Person that was ever paid by them to any foreign Prince, and continues still to her Name in the Remembrance, and frequently in the Mouths, of all sorts of People among them.

After *Leicester's* Departure, Prince *Maurice* was, by the Consent of the Union, chosen their Governor; but with a Reservation to Queen *Elizabeth*;

Elizabeth; and entered that Command with the Hopes which he made good in the Execution of it for many Years; proving the greatest Captain of his Age, famous, particularly, in the Discipline and Ordonnance of his Armies, and the Ways of Fortification by him first invented or perfected, and since his Time imitated by all.

But the great Breath that was given the States in the Heat of their Affairs, was by the sharp Wars made by Queen *Elizabeth* upon the *Spaniards* at Sea in the *Indies*, and the Expedition of *Lisbon* and *Cadiz*, and by the declining Affairs of the League in *France*; for whose Support *Philip II.* was so passionately engaged, that twice he commanded the Duke of *Parma* to interrupt the Course of his Victories in the *Low Countries*, and march into *France* for the Relief of *Roan* and *Paris*: Which much augmented the Renown of this great Captain, but as much impaired the State of the *Spanish* Affairs in *Flanders*. For, in the Duke of *Parma's* Absence, Prince *Maurice* took in all the Places held by the *Spaniard* on the other Side the *Rhine*, which gave them Entrance into the *United Provinces*.

The Succession of *Henry IV.* to the Crown of *France*, gave a mighty Blow to the Designs of King *Philip*; and a much greater, the general Obedience and Acknowledgment of him upon his Change of Religion. With this King the States began to enter a Confidence and Kindness; and the more by that which interceded between him and the Queen of *England*, who had all their Dependence during her Life. But, after her Death, King *Henry* grew to have greater Credit than ever in the *United Provinces*; though, upon

on the Decay of the *Spanish* Power under the Ascendant of this King, the States fell into very early Jealousies of his growing too great, and too near them in *Flanders*.

With the Duke of *Parma* died all the Discipline, and, with that, all the Fortunes of the *Spanish* Arms in *Flanders*. The frequent Mutinies of their Soldiers, dangerous in Effect and in Example, were more talked of, than any other of their Actions, in the short Government of *Mansfield*, *Ernest*, and *Fuentes*; till the old Discipline of their Armies began to revive, and their Fortune a little to respire under the new Government of Cardinal *Albert*, who came into *Flanders*, both Governor and Prince of the *Low Countries*, in the Head of a mighty Army drawn out of *Germany* and *Italy*, to try the last Effort of the *Spanish* Power, either in a prosperous War, or at least in making way for a necessary Peace.

But the Choice of the Archduke, and this new Authority, had a deeper Root and Design than at first appeared. For that mighty King, *Philip II.* born to so vast Possessions, and to so much vaster Desires, after a long Dream of raising his Head into the Clouds, found it now ready to lie down in the Dust. His Body broken with Age and Infirmities, his Mind with Cares and distempered Thoughts, and the Royal Servitude of a solicitous Life; he began to see, in the Glass of Time and Experience, the true Shapes of all human Greatness and Designs: And, finding to what airy Figures he had hitherto sacrificed his Health and Ease, and the Good of his Life; he now turned his Thoughts wholly to Rest and Quiet,

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which he had never yet allowed either the World or himself. His Designs upon *England*, and his invincible Armada, had ended in Smoke; those upon *France*, in Events the most contrary to what he had proposed: And, instead of mastering the Liberties, and breaking the Stomach of his *Low Country* Subjects, he had lost seven of his Provinces, and held the rest by the Tenure of a War, that cost him more than they were worth. He had made lately a Peace with *England*, and desired it with *France*. And though he scorned it with his revolted Subjects in his own Name, yet he wished it in another's; and was unwilling to entail a Quarrel upon his Son, which had crossed his Fortunes, and busied his Thoughts, all the Course of his Reign. He therefore resolved to commit these two Designs to the Management of Archduke *Albert*, with the Style of Governor and Prince of the *Low Countries*; to the end, that, if he could reduce the Provinces to their old Subjection, he should govern them as *Spanish* Dominions: If that was once more in vain attempted, he should by a Marriage with *Clara Isabella Eugenia* (King *Philip's* beloved Daughter) receive these Provinces as a Dowry, and become the Prince of them; with a Condition only of their returning to *Spain* in case of *Isabella's* dying without Issue. King *Philip* believed, that the Presence of a natural Prince among his Subjects; that the Birth and Customs of Archduke *Albert*, being a *German*; the generous and obliging Dispositions of *Isabella*, might gain further upon this stubborn People, than all the Force and Rigour of his former Counsels: And, at the worst, that they might make a Peace,

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if they could not a War, and without interest-
ing the Honour and Greatness of the *Spanish*
Crown.

In pursuit of this Determination, like a wise
King, while he intended nothing but Peace, he
made Preparations, as if he designed nothing but
War; knowing, that his own Desires of Peace
would signify nothing, unless he could force his
Enemies to desire it too. He therefore sent the
Archduke into *Flanders*, at the Head of such an
Army, that, believing the Peace with *France*
must be the first in order, and make way for
either the War or Peace afterward in the *Low*
Countries, he marched into *France*, and took
Amiens, the chief City of *Picardy*; and thereby
gave such an Alarm to the *French* Court, as they
little expected, and had never received in the
former Wars. But, while *Albert* bent the whole
Force of the War upon *France*, till he determi-
ned it in a Peace with that Crown, Prince *Mau-*
rice, who had taken *Groningue* in the Time of
Ernest, now mastered *Linghen*, *Groll*, and other
Places in *Overyssel*, thereby adding those Pro-
vinces entire to the Body of the Union; and, at
Albert's Return into *Flanders*, entertained him
with the Battle of *Newport*, won by the despe-
rate Courage of the *English*, under Sir *Francis*
Vere; where *Albert* was wounded, and very
near being taken.

After this Loss, the Archduke was yet com-
forted and relieved by the obsequious Affections
and Obedience of his new Subjects, so far as to
resolve upon the Siege of *Ostend*; which having
some time continued, and being almost disheart-
ened by the Strength of the Place, and invin-

cible Courage of the Defendants, he was recruited by a Body of eight thousand *Italians*, under the Marquis *Spinola*, to whom the Prosecution of this Siege was committed. He took the Place after three Years Siege; not by any want of Men or Provisions within, (the Haven, and Relief by Sea, being open all the Time); but perfectly for want of Ground; which was gained Foot by Foot, till not so much was left as would hold Men to defend it. A great Example how impossible it is to defend any Town that cannot be relieved by an Army strong enough to raise the Siege.

Prince *Maurice*, though he could not save *Ostend*, made yet Amends for its Loss, by the taking of *Grave* and *Sluice*; so as the *Spaniards* gained little but the Honour of the Enterprize. And, *Philip II.* being dead about the Time of the Arch Duke's and Duchess's Arrival in *Flanders*, and with him the personal Resentment of that War, the Archduke, by Consent of the *Spanish* Court, began to apply his Thoughts wholly to a Peace; which another Circumstance had made more necessary, than any of those already mentioned.

As the *Dutch* Commonwealth was born out of the Sea; so out of the same Element it drew its first Strength and Consideration, as well as afterwards its Riches and Greatness. For, before the Revolts, the Subjects of the *Low Countries*, though never allowed the Trade of the *Indies*, but in the *Spanish* Fleets, and under *Spanish* Covert; yet many of them had in that Manner made the Voyages, and became skilful Pilots, as well as versed in the Ways, and sensible

sible of the infinite Gains of that Trade. And, after the Union, a greater Confluence of People falling down into the *United Provinces*, than could manage their Stock, or find Employment at Land; great Multitudes turned their Endeavours to Sea: And, having lost the Trade of *Spain* and the *Streights*, fell not only into that of *England*, *France*, and the Northern Seas; but ventured upon that of the *East-Indies*; at first with small Forces and Success: But, in course of Time, and by the Institution of an *East-India* Company, this came to be pursued with so general Application of the Provinces, and so great Advantage, that they made themselves Masters of most of the Colonies and Forts planted there by the *Portuguese*, (now Subjects of *Spain*). The *Dutch* Seamen grew as well acquainted with those vast Seas and Coasts, as with their own; and *Holland* became the great Magazine of all the Commodities of those Eastern Regions.

In the *West-Indies* their Attempts were neither so frequent nor prosperous, the *Spanish* Plantations there being too numerous and strong; but, by the Multitude of their Shipping, set out with publick or private Commissions, they infested the Seas, and began to wait for, and threaten the *Spanish* Indian Fleets, and sometimes to attempt their Coasts in that new World, (which was to touch *Spain* in the most sensible Part); and gave their Court the strongest Motives to endeavour a Peace, that might secure those Treasures in their Way, and preserve them in *Spain*, by stopping the Issue of those vast Sums which were continually transmitted to entertain the *Low Country* Wars.

These Respects gave the first Rise to a Treaty of Peace; the Proposal whereof came wholly from the *Spaniards*: And the very Mention of it could hardly at first be fastened upon the States; nor could they ever be prevailed with to make way for any Negotiation by a Suspension of Arms, till the Archduke had declared, he would treat with them as with free Provinces, upon whom neither he nor *Spain* had any Pre-
tence. However, the Affair was pursued with so much Art and Industry on the Archduke's Part, and with so passionate Desires of the *Spanish* Court to end this War, that they were content to treat it at the *Hague*, the Seat of the States-General; and, for the greater Honour, and better Conduct of the whole Business, appointed the four chief Ministers of the Archduke's, their Commissioners to attend and pursue it there; who were, their Camp-Master-General *Spinola*, the President of the Council, and the two Secretaries of State and of War in *Flanders*.

On the other Side, in *Holland*, all the Paces towards this Treaty were made with great Coldness and Arrogance, raising punctilious Difficulties upon every Word of the Archduke's Declaration of treating them as free Provinces, and upon *Spain's* Ratification of that Form; and forcing them to send Expresses into *Spain*, upon every Occasion, and to attend the Length of those Returns. For the prosperous Success of their Arms at Land, in the Course of above thirty Years War, and the mighty Growth of their naval Power, and (under that Protection) of their Trade, had made the whole Body of their Militia, both at Land and Sea, averse from this Treaty.

ty, as well as the greatest Part of the People ; whose inveterate Hatred against *Spain* was still as fierce as ever ; and who had the Hopes or Dispositions of raising their Fortunes by the War, whereof they had so many and great Examples among them.

But there was, at the Bottom, one foreign, and another domestick Consideration, which made way for this Treaty, more than all those Arguments that were the common Themes, or than all the Offices of the Neighbour-princes, who concerned themselves in this Affair, either from Interest of their own, or the Desires of ending a War, which had so long exercised, in a manner, the Arms of all Christendom upon the Stage of the *Low Countries*. The Greatness of the *Spanish* Monarchy, so formidable under *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* began now to decline, by the vast Designs and unfortunate Events of so many ambitious Counsels. And, on the other Side, the Affairs of *Henry IV.* of *France* were now at the greatest Height and Felicity, after having atchieved so many Adventures, with incredible Constancy and Valour, and ended all his Wars in a Peace with *Spain*. The *Dutch* imagined, that the hot Spirits of the *French* could not continue long without some Exercise ; and that, to prevent it at home, it might be necessary for that King to give it them abroad ; that no Enterprize lay so convenient for him, as that upon *Flanders*, which had anciently been Part of the *Gallick* Nation, and whose first Princes derived and held of the Kings of *France*. Besides, they had Intimations, that *Henry IV.* was taken up in great Preparations for War ; which they doubted

doubted would at one Time or other fall on that Side, at least, if they were invited by any greater Decays of the *Spanish* Power in *Flanders*. And they knew very well, they should lie as much at the Mercy of such a Neighbour as *France*, as they had formerly done of such a Master as *Spain*. For the *Spanish* Power in *Flanders* was fed by Treasures that came by long and perilous Voyages out of *Spain*; by Troops drawn either from thence, or from *Italy* or *Germany*, with much Casualty, and more Expence: Their Territory of the Ten Provinces was small, and awed by the Neighbourhood and Jealousies both of *England* and *France*. But if *France* were once Master of *Flanders*, the Body of that Empire would be so great, and so entire; so abounding in People, and in Riches, that whenever they found, or made an Occasion of invading the *United Provinces*, they had no Hopes of preserving themselves by any Opposition or Diversion: And the End of their mighty Resistances against *Spain* was, to have no Master; and not to change one for another, as they should do in this Case. Therefore the most intelligent among their Civil Ministers thought it safest, by a Peace, to give Breath to the Archduke's and *Spanish* Power, and, by that means, to lessen the Invitation of the Arms of *France* into *Flanders*, under so great a King.

For what was domestick, the Credit and Power of Prince *Maurice*, built at first upon that of his Father, but much raised by his own personal Virtues and Qualities, and the Success of his Arms, was now grown so high, (the Prince being Governor or Stadtholder of four of the Provinces,

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and two of his Cousins of the other three), that several of the States, headed by *Barnevelt*, Pensioner of *Holland*, and a Man of great Abilities and Authority among them, became jealous of the Prince's Power, and pretended to fear the Growth of it to an absolute Dominion: They knew, it would increase by the Continuance of a War, which was wholly managed by the Prince; and thought, that in a Peace it would diminish, and give way to the Authority of Civil Power: Which disposed this whole Party to desire the Treaty, and to advance the Progress and Issue of it by all their Assistances. And these different Humours stirring in the Heart of the States, with almost equal Strength and Vigour, the Negotiation of a Peace came to be eluded, after long Debates and infinite Endeavours; breaking, in Appearance, upon the Points of Religion, and the *Indian Trade*: But yet came to knit again, and conclude in a Truce of twelve Years, dated in the Year 1609; whereof the most essential Points were, The Declaration of treating with them as free Provinces: The Cessation of all Acts of Hostility on both Sides during the Truce: The Enjoyment, for that Space, of all that each Party possessed at the Time of the Treaty: That no new Fortification should be raised on either Side: and, That free Commerce should be restored on all Parts, in the same Manner as it was before the Wars.

And thus the State of the *United Provinces* came to be acknowledged as a free Commonwealth by their ancient Master, having before been treated so by most of the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, in frequent Embassies and Negotiations.

ons. Among which, a particular Preference was given to the *English* Crown; whose Ambassador had Session and Vote in their Council of State, by Agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, and in acknowledgment of those great Assurances which gave Life to their State, when it was upon the Point of expiring: though the *Dutch* pretend, that Privilege was given to the Ambassador, by virtue of the Possession this Crown had of the *Briel*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*; and that it was to cease upon the Restitution of those Towns, and Repayment of those Sums lent by the Queen.

In the very Time of treating this Truce, a League was concluded between *Henry IV.* of *France*, and the States, for preserving the Peace, if it came to be concluded; or, in case of its failing, for Assistance of one another, with ten thousand Men on the King's Part, and five thousand on the States. Nor did that King make any Difficulty of continuing the two Regiments of Foot and two hundred Horse in the States Service, at his own Charge, after the Truce, which he had maintained for several Years before it; omitting no Provisions that might tie that State to his Interests, and make him at present Arbiter of the Peace, and, for the future, of the War, if the Truce should come to be broken, or to expire of itself.

By what has been related, it will easily appear, that no State was ever born with stronger Throws, or nursed up with harder Fare, or inured to greater Labours or Dangers in the whole Course of its Youth; which are Circumstances that usually make strong and healthy Bodies. And so this has proved, having never had
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more than one Disease break out, in the Space of ninety three Years; which may be accounted the Age of this State, reckoning from the Union of *Utrecht*, entered by the Provinces in 1579. But this Disease, like those of the Seed or Conception in a natural Body, though it first appeared in *Barnevelt's* Time, breaking out upon the Negotiations with *Spain*, and seemed to end with his Death, (who was beheaded not many Years after); yet has it ever since continued lurking in the Veins of this State, and appearing upon all Revolutions that seem to favour the Predominancy of the one or other Humour in the Body; and, under the Names of the Prince of *Orange's*, and the *Arminian* Party, has ever made the weak Side of this State; and, whenever their Period comes, will prove the Occasion of their Fall.

The Ground of this Name of *Arminian* was, That, whilst *Barnevelt's* Party accused those of the Prince of *Orange's*, as being careless of their Liberties, so dearly bought, as devoted to the House of *Orange*, and disposed to the Admission of an absolute Principality, and, in order thereunto, as Promoters of a perpetual War with *Spain*; so those of the Prince's Party accused the others, as leaning still to, and looking kindly upon their old Servitude, and relishing the *Spaniards*, both in their Politicks, by so eagerly affecting a Peace with that Crown, and in their Religion, by being generally *Arminians*, (which was esteemed the middle Part between the *Calvinists* and the *Roman Religion*). And, besides these mutual Reproaches, the two Parties have ever valued themselves upon the asserting, one
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of the true and purer Reformed Religion, and the other of the truer and freer Liberties of the State.

The Fortunes of this Commonwealth that have happened in their Wars or Negotiations since the Truce with *Spain*, and what Circumstances or Accidents, both abroad and at home, served to cultivate their mighty Growth, and conspired to the Greatness wherein they appeared to the World in the Beginning of the Year 1665, being not only the Subject of the Relations, but even the Observations of this present Age; I shall either leave, as more obvious, and less necessary to the Account I intend of the Civil Government of this Commonwealth; or else reserve them till the same Vein of Leisure or Humour invite me to continue this Deduction to the present Time: the Affairs of this State having been complicated with all the Variety and memorable Revolutions, both of Actions and Counsels, that have since happened in the rest of Christendom.

In the mean time, I will close this Relation with an Event which arrived soon after the Conclusion of the Truce, and had like to have broken it within the very Year, if not prevented by the Offices of the Neighbour-princes, but more by a Change of Humour in the United States, conspiring to the Conservation of the new-restored Peace in these Parts of the World.

In the End of the Year 1609, died the Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, without Heir-male, leaving those Duchies to the Pretensions of his Daughters, in whose Right the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and *Nieuburg* possessed themselves of
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such Parts of those Territories as they first could invade; each of them pretending Right to the whole Inheritance. *Brandenburg* seeks Protection and Favour to his Title from the *United Provinces*; *Nieuburg*, from *Archduke Albert*, and from *Spain*. The Archduke, newly respiring from so long a War, had no Desire to interest himself in this Quarrel, further than the Care that the *Dutch* should not take Advantage of it, and, under Pretext of assisting one of the Parties, seize upon some of those Dominions lying contiguous to their own. The *Dutch* were not so equal, nor content to lose so fair an Occasion, and surpris'd the Town of *Juliers*, (though pretending only to keep it till the Parties agreed); and believing that *Spain*, after having parted with so much in the late Truce, to end a Quarrel of their own, would not venture a Breach of it upon a Quarrel of their Neighbours. But the Archduke, having first taken his Measures with *Spain*, and foreseeing the Consequence of this Affair, resolv'd to venture the whole State of *Flanders* in a new War, rather than suffer such an Increase of Power and Dominion to the States: And thereupon, first, in the behalf of the Duke of *Nieuburg*, requires from them the Restitution of *Juliers*: and, upon their artificiois and dilatory Answers, immediately draws his Forces together, and with an Army, under the Command of *Spinola*, marches towards *Juliers*, (which the States were in no care of, as well provided for a bold Defence); but makes a sudden Turn, and sits down before *Wesel*, with such a Terror and Surprise to the Inhabitants, that he carries the

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Town

Town before the Dutch could come in to their Assistance. *Wesel* was a strong Town upon the *Rhine*, which the Duke of *Brandenburg* pretended to, as belonging to the Duchy of *Cleve*; but the Citizens held at this Time as an Imperial Town, and under Protection of the *Dutch*; who, amazed at this sudden and bold Attempt of *Spinola*, which made him Master of a Pass that lay fair for any further Invasion upon their Provinces, (especially those on the other Side the *Rhine*), engage the Offices of both the *English* and *French* Crowns, to mediate an Agreement: Which at length they conclude, so as neither Party should, upon any Pretence, draw their Forces into any Part of these Duchies. Thus the Archduke having, by the Fondness of Peace, newly made a Truce, upon Conditions imposed by the *Dutch*; now, by the Resolution of making War, obtains a Peace, upon the very Terms proposed by himself, and by *Spain*. An Event of great Instruction and Example, how dangerous it ever proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their Aid; which makes them a Prey to their Friend, instead of their Enemy: How the only Time of making an advantageous Peace, is, when your Enemy desires it, and when you are in the best Condition of pursuing a War: and, How vain a Counsel it is, to avoid a War, by yielding any Point of Interest or Honour; which does but invite new Injuries, encourage Enemies, and dishearten Friends.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Of the Government of the United Provinces.

IT is evident, by what has been discoursed in the former Chapter concerning the Rise of this State, (which is to be dated from the Union of *Utrecht*), that it cannot properly be styled a Commonwealth, but is rather a Confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces united together for their common and mutual Defence, without any Dependence one upon the other. But, to discover the Nature of their Government from the first Springs and Motions, it must be taken yet into smaller Pieces; by which it will appear, that each of these Provinces is likewise composed of many little States or Cities, which have several Marks of Sovereign Power within themselves, and are not subject to the Sovereignty of their Provinces; not being concluded in many Things by the Majority, but only by the universal Concurrence of Voices in the Provincial States. For as the States-General cannot make War or Peace, or any new Alliance, or Levies of Money, without the Consent of every Province; so cannot the States-Provincial conclude any of those Points, without the Consent of each of the Cities that, by their Constitution, has a Voice in that Assembly. And though in many Civil Causes there lies an Appeal from the common Judicature of the Cities to the Provincial Courts of Justice; yet in Criminal there lies none at all: Nor can the Sovereignty of a Province exercise any Judicature, seize upon any

Offender, or pardon any Offence within the Jurisdiction of a City, or execute any common Resolution or Law, but by the Justice and Officers of the City itself. By this a certain Sovereignty in each City is discerned; the chief Marks whereof are, the Power of exercising Judicature, levying of Money, and making War and Peace: For the other, of coining Money, is neither in particular Cities nor Provinces, but in the Generality of the Union, by common Agreement.

The main Ingredients, therefore, into the Composition of this State are, the Freedom of the Cities, the Sovereignty of the Provinces, the Agreements or Constitutions of the Union, and the Authority of the Princes of *Orange*; which make the Order I shall follow in the Account intended of this Government. But whereas the several Provinces in the Union, and the several Cities in each Province, as they have, in their Orders and Constitutions, some particular Differences, as well as a general Resemblance; and the Account of each distinctly would swell this Discourse out of Measure, and to little Purpose; I shall confine myself to the Account of *Holland*, as the richest, strongest, and of most Authority among the Provinces; and of *Amsterdam*, as that which has the same Pre-eminencies among the Cities.

The Sovereign Authority of the City of *Amsterdam*, consists in the Decrees or Resolutions of their Senate; which is composed of six and thirty Men, by whom the Justice is administered, according to ancient Forms, in the Names of Officers, and Places of Judicature. But Monies are levied

levied by arbitrary Resolutions, and Proportions, according to what appears convenient or necessary upon the Change or Emergency of Occasions. These Senators are for their Lives. And the Senate was anciently chosen by the Voices of the richer Burghers, or Freemen of the City; who, upon the Death of a Senator, met together, either in a Church, a Market, or some other Place spacious enough to receive their Numbers, and there made an Election of the Person to succeed, by the Majority of Voices. But, about a hundred and thirty or forty Years ago, when the Towns of *Holland* began to increase in Circuit, and in People, so as those frequent Assemblies grew into Danger of Tumult and Disorder upon every Occasion, by reason of their Numbers and Contention, this Election of Senators came, by the Resolution of the Burghers, in one of their General Assemblies, to be devolved for ever upon the standing Senate at that Time; so as, ever since, when any one of their Number dies, a new one is chosen by the rest of the Senate, without any Intervention of the other Burghers: Which makes the Government a sort of *Oligarchy*; and very different from a popular Government, as it is generally esteemed by those, who, passing or living in these Countries, content themselves with common Observations or Inquiries. And this Resolution of the Burghers either was agreed upon, or followed by general Consent or Example, about the same time, in all the Towns of the Province, though with some Difference in Number of their Senators.

By this Senate are chosen the chief Magistrates of the Town; which are the Burgomasters and

the Eschevins. The Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* are four; whereof three are chosen every Year, so as one of them stays in Office two Years. But the three last chosen are called the *Reigning Burgomasters* for that Year, and preside by Turns, after the first three Months: For so long after a new Election, the Burgomaster of the Year before presides; in which Time it is supposed the new ones will grow instructed in the Forms and Duties of their Office, and acquainted with the State of the City's Affairs.

The Burgomasters are chosen by most Voices of all those Persons in the Senate who have been either Burgomasters or Eschevins; and their Authority resembles that of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in our Cities. They represent the Dignity of the Government, and do the Honour of the City upon all Occasions. They dispose of all Under-offices that fall in their Time, and issue out all Monies out of the common Stock or Treasure; judging alone what is necessary for the Safety, Convenience, or Dignity of the City. They keep the Key of the Bank of *Amsterdam*, (the common Treasure of so many Nations); which is never opened without the Presence of one of them. And they inspect and pursue all the great publick Works of the City, as the *Ramparts* and *Stadthouse*, now almost finished, with so great Magnificence, and so vast Expence.

This Office is a Charge of the greatest Trust, Authority, and Dignity; and so much the greater, by not being of Profit or Advantage, but only as a Way to other constant Employments in the City that are so. The Salary of a Burgomaster

master of *Amsterdam* is but five hundred Guilders a-year, though there are Offices worth five thousand in their Disposal; but yet none of them known to have taken Money upon such Occasions; which would lose all their Credit in the Town, and thereby their Fortunes by any publick Employments. They are obliged to no sort of Expence, more than ordinary modest Citizens, in their Habits, their Attendance, their Tables, or any Part of their own Domestick. They are upon all publick Occasions waited on by Men in Salary from the Town; and, whatever Feasts they make upon solemn Days, or for the Entertainment of any Princes or foreign Ministers, the Charge is defrayed out of the common Treasure, but proportioned by their own Discretion. At other times, they appear in all Places with the Simplicity and Modesty of other private Citizens. When the Burgomaster's Office expires, they are of course disposed into the other Charges or Employments of the Town, which are very many and beneficial, unless they lose their Credit with the Senate, by any want of Diligence or Fidelity in the Discharge of their Office; which seldom arrives.

The *Eschevins* are the Court of Justice in every Town. They are at *Amsterdam* nine in Number; of which seven are chosen annually; but two of the preceeding Year continue in Office. A double Number is named by the Senate; out of which the Burgomasters now chuse, as the Prince of *Orange* did in the former Constitution. They are Sovereign Judges in all Criminal Causes; in Civil, after a certain Value, there lies Appeal to the Court of Justice of the

the Province. But they pass Sentence of Death upon no Man, without first advising with the Burgomasters; though, after that Form is past, they proceed themselves, and are not bound to follow the Burgomasters Opinion, but are left to their own; this being only a Care or Favour of Supererogation to the Life of Man, which is so soon cut off, and never to be retrieved or made amends for.

Under these Sovereign Magistrates, the chief subordinate Officers of the Town are, the Treasurers, who receive and issue out all Monies that are properly the Revenues or Stock of the City; the *Scout*, who takes care of the Peace, seizes all Criminals, and sees the Sentences of Justice executed, and whose Authority is like that of a Sheriff in a County with us, or a Constable in a Parish; the *Pensfoner*, who is a Civil Lawyer, versed in the Customs, and Records, and Privileges of the Town; concerning which he informs the Magistracy upon Occasion, and vindicates them upon Disputes with other Towns. He is a Servant of the Senate and the Burgomasters, delivers their Messages, makes their Harangues upon all publick Occasions, and is not unlike the Recorder in one of our Towns.

In this City of *Amsterdam* is the famous Bank, which is the greatest Treasure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the World. The Place of it is a great Vault under the Stadthouse, made strong with all the Circumstances of Doors and Locks, and other appearing Cautions of Safety, that can be. And it is certain, that whoever is carried to see the Bank, shall

shall never fail to find the Appearance of a mighty real Treasure, in Bars of Gold and Silver, Plate and infinite Bags of Metals, which are supposed to be all Gold and Silver; and may be so for ought I know. But, the Burgomasters only having the Inspection of this Bank, and no Man ever taking any particular Account of what issues in and out, from Age to Age, it is impossible to make any Calculation, or guess what Proportion the real Treasure may hold to the Credit of it. Therefore the Security of the Bank lies not only in the Effects that are in it, but in the Credit of the whole Town or State of *Amsterdam*, whose Stock and Revenue is equal to that of some Kingdoms; and who are bound to make good all Monies that are brought into their Bank. The Tickets or Bills hereof make all the usual great Payments that are made between Man and Man in the Town; and not only in most other Places of the *United Provinces*, but in many other trading Parts of the World: So as this Bank is properly a general Cash where every Man lodges his Money; because he esteems it safer, and easier paid in and out, than if it were in his Coffers at home. And the Bank is so far from paying any Interest for what is there brought in, that Money in the Bank is worth something more in common Payments, than what runs current in Coin from Hand to Hand; no other Money passing in the Bank, but in the Species of Coin the best known, the most ascertained, and the most generally current in all Parts of the Higher as well as the Lower *Germany*.

The Revenues of *Amsterdam* arise out of the constant Excise upon all sorts of Commodities bought

bought and sold within the Precinct; or out of the Rents of those Houses or Lands that belong in common to the City; or out of certain Duties and Impositions upon every House, towards the Uses of Charity, and the Repairs or Adornments, or Fortifications of the Place; or else out of extraordinary Levies consented to by the Senate, for furnishing their Part of the publick Charge that is agreed to by their Deputies in the Provincial States for the Use of the Province; or by the Deputies of the States of *Holland* in the States-General, for Support of the Union. And all these Payments are made into one common Stock of the Town; not, as many of ours are, into that of the Parish, so as Attempts may be easier made at the Calculations of their whole Revenue. And I have heard it affirmed, That what is paid of all kinds to publick Uses of the States-General, the Province, and the City in *Amsterdam*, amounts to above sixteen hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling* a-year. But I enter into no Computations, nor give these for any thing more, than what I have heard from Men who pretended to make such Inquiries; which I confess I did not. It is certain, that, in no Town, Strength, Beauty, and Convenience are better provided for, nor with more unlimited Expence, than in this, by the Magnificence of their publick Buildings, as Stadthouse and Arsenals; the Number and Spaciousness, as well as Order and Revenues of their many Hospitals; the Commodiousness of their Canals, running through the chief Streets of Passage; the mighty Strength of their Baffions and Ramparts, and the Neatness, as well as Convenience, of their Streets, so far

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as can be compassed in so great a Confluence of industrious People: All which could never be achieved, without a Charge much exceeding what seems proportioned to the Revenue of one single Town.

The Senate chuses the Deputies ^{Government of} which are sent from this City to the ^{the Province} States of *Holland*: the Sovereignty of *Holland*, whereof is represented by Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, composing nineteen Voices: Of which the Nobles have only the first, and the Cities eighteen, according to the Number of those which are called *Stemms*; the other Cities and Towns of the Province having no Voice in the States. These Cities were originally but six, *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delf*, *Leyden*, *Amsterdam*, and *Tergou*: but were increased, by Prince *William* of *Nassau*, to the Number of eighteen, by the Addition of *Roterdam*, *Gorcum*, *Schedam*, *Schonoven*, *Briel*, *Alemaer*, *Horne*, *Enchusen*, *Edam*, *Moninckdam*, *Medenblick*, and *Permeren*. This makes as great an Inequality in the Government of the Province, by such a small City as *Permeren* having an equal Voice in the Provincial States with *Amsterdam*, (which pays perhaps half of all Charges of the Province), as seems to be in the States-General, by so small a Province as *Overyssel* having an equal Voice in the States-General with that of *Holland*, which contributes more than half to the general Charge of the Union. But this was by some Writers of that Age interpreted to be done by the Prince's Authority, to lessen that of the Nobles, and balance that of the greater Cities by the Voices of the

the smaller, whose Dependences were easier to be gained and secured.

The Nobles, though they are few in this Province, yet are not represented by all their Number, but by eight or nine, who as Deputies from their Body have Session in the States-Provincial; and who, when one among them dies, chuse another to succeed him. Though they have all together but one Voice equal to the smallest Town; yet they are very considerable in the Government, by possessing many of the best Charges both civil and military, by having the Direction of all the Ecclesiastical Revenue that was seized by the State upon the Change of Religion; and by sending their Deputies to all the Councils both of the Generality and the Province, and by the Nomination of one Counsellor in the two great Courts of Justice. They give their Voice first in the Assembly of the States, and thereby a great Weight to the Business in Consultation. The Pensioner of *Holland* is seated with them, delivers their Voice for them, and assists at all their Deliberations before they come to the Assembly. He is properly but Minister or Servant of the Province, and so his Place or Rank is behind all their Deputies; but has always great Credit, because he is perpetual, or seldom discharged; though of right he ought to be chosen or renewed every fifth Year. He has place in all the several Assemblies of the Province, and in the States proposes all Affairs, gathers the Opinions, and forms or digests the Resolutions; pretending likewise a Power, not to conclude any very important Affair by Plurality of Voices, when he judges in his Conscience he ought not

not to do it; and that it will be of ill Consequence or Prejudice to the Province. He is likewise one of their constant Deputies in the States-General.

The Deputies of the Cities are drawn out of the Magistrates and Senate of each Town. Their Number is uncertain and arbitrary, according to the Customs or Pleasure of the Cities that send them; because they have all together but one Voice, and are all maintained at their Cities Charge: But commonly one of the Burgomasters, and the Pensioner, are of the Number.

The States of *Holland* have their Session in the Court at the *Hague*, and assemble ordinarily four Times a year, in *February*, *June*, *September*, and *November*. In the former Sessions, they provide for the filling up of all vacant Charges, and for renewing the Farms of all the several Taxes, and for consulting about any Matters that concern either the general Good of the Province, or any particular Differences arising between the Towns; but, in *November*, they meet purposely to resolve upon the Continuance of the Charge which falls to the Share of their Province the following Year, according to what may have been agreed upon by the Deputies of the States-General, as necessary for the Support of the State or Union.

For extraordinary Occasions, they are convoked by a Council called the *Gecommitteerde Raeden*, or the commissioned Counsellors; who are properly a Council of State of the Province, composed of several Deputies; one from the Nobles; one from each of the chief Towns, and but one from three of the smaller Towns, each

of the three chasing him by turns. And this Council sits constantly at the *Hague*; and both proposes to the Provincial States, at their extraordinary Assemblies, the Matters of Deliberation, and executes their Resolutions.

In these Assemblies, though all are equal in Voices, and any one hinders a Result; yet it seldom happens, but that, united by one common Bond of Interest, and having all one common End of publick Good, they come, after full Debates, to easy Resolutions; yielding to the Power of Reason, where it is clear and strong, and suppressing all private Passions or Interests, so as the smaller Part seldom contests hard or long what the greater agrees of. When the Deputies of the States agreed in Opinion, they send some of their Number to their respective Towns, proposing the Affair, and the Reasons alledged, and desiring Orders from them to conclude; which seldom fails, if the Necessity or Utility be evident: If it be more intricate, or suffers Delay, the States adjourn for such a Time, as admits the Return of all the Deputies to their Towns; where their Influence and Interest, and the Impressions of the Debates in their Provincial Assemblies, make the Consent of the Cities easier gained.

Besides the States and Council mentioned, the Province has likewise a Chamber of Accounts, who manage the general Revenues of the Province. And, besides this Trust, they have the absolute Disposition of the ancient Demesne of *Holland*, without giving any Account to the States of the Province: Only at Times, either upon usual Intervals, or upon a Necessity of Money,

ney, the States call upon them for a Subsidy of two or three hundred thousand Crowns, or more, as they are pressed, or conceive the Chamber to be grown rich, beyond what is proportioned to the general Design of increasing the Ease and Fortunes of those Persons who compose it. The States of *Holland* dispose of these Charges to Men grown aged in their Service, and who have passed through most of the Employments of State, with the Esteem of Prudence and Integrity: And such Persons find here an honourable and profitable Retreat.

The Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, as they used formerly to have one Governor in the Time of the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*; so they have long had one common Judicature, which is exercised by two Courts of Justice, each of them common to both the Provinces. The first is composed of twelve Counsellors, nine of *Holland*, and three of *Zealand*, of whom the Governor of the Provinces is the Head; by the old Constitution used to preside whenever he pleased, and to name all the Counsellors except one, who was chosen by the Nobles. This Court judges without Appeal in all Criminal Causes; but in Civil there lies Appeal to the other Court, which is called the *High Council*; from which there is no Appeal, but only by Petition to the States of the Province for a Revision. When these judge there is Reason for it, they grant Letters-patents to that purpose, naming some *Syndicks* out of the Towns; who, being added to the Counsellors of the two former Courts, revise and judge the Cause in the last Resort. And this Course seems to have been instituted by way

of Supply or Imitation of the Chamber of *Mech-
lyn*; to which, before the Revolt of the Provin-
ces, there lay an Appeal, by way of Revision,
from all or most of the Provincial Courts of Ju-
stice, as there still doth in the *Spanish* Provinces
of the *Netherlands*.

The Union is made up of the Se-
ven sovereign Provinces before na-
med, who chuse their respective De-
puties, and send them to the *Hague*,
for the composing of three several

Colleges, called *The States-General*, *The Coun-
cil of State*, and, *The Chamber of Accounts*.

The Sovereign Power of this United State lies
effectively in the Assembly of the *States-General*;
which used at first to be convoked upon extraor-
dinary Occasions by the Council of State; but
that seldom, in regard they usually consisted of
above eight hundred Persons; whose meeting to-
gether in one Place, from so many several Parts,
gave too great a Shake to the whole Body of the
Union; made the Debates long, and sometimes
confused; the Resolutions slow, and, upon sud-
den Occasions, out of Time. In the Absence of
the *States-General*, the Council of State repre-
sented their Authority, and executed their Reso-
lutions, and judged of the Necessity of a new
Convocation; till, after the Earl of *Leicester's*
Departure from the Government, the Provincial
States desired of the General, That they might,
by their constant respective Deputies, continue
their Assemblies under the Name of *States-Gen-
eral*, which were never after assembled but at *Ben-
gen-op-zoom*, for ratifying with more solemn
Form

Form and Authority the Truce concluded with Duke *Albert* and *Spain*. This Desire of the Provinces was grounded upon the Pretences, That the Council of State convoked them but seldom, and at Will; and that, being to execute all in their Absence, they thereby arrogated to themselves too great an Authority in the State. But a more secret Reason had greater Weight in this Affair; which was, That the *English* Ambassador had, by Agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, a constant Place in their Council of State; and, upon the Distastes arising between the Provinces, and the Earl of *Leicester*, with some Jealousies of the Queen's Disposition to make a Peace with *Spain*, they had no mind that her Ambassador should be present any longer in the first Digestion of their Affairs, which was then usually made in the Council of State. And hereupon they first framed the ordinary Council, called the *States General*, which has ever since passed by that Name, and sits constantly in the Court at the *Hague*, represents the Sovereignty of the Union, gives Audience and Dispatches to all foreign Ministers; but yet is indeed only a Representative of the *States General*, the Assemblies whereof are wholly dissolved. The Council of State, the Admiralty, and the Treasury, are all subordinate to this Council. All which are continued in as near a Resemblance as could be, to the several Councils used in the Time when the Provinces were subject to their several Principalities; or united under one in the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*: only the several Deputies, (composing one Voice), now succeeding the single Persons employed

ployed under the former Governments. And the *Hague*, which was the ancient Seat of the Counts of *Holland*, still continues to be so of all these Councils; where the Palace of the former Sovereigns lodges the Prince of *Orange* as Governor, and receives these several Councils as attending still upon the Sovereignty, represented by the States-General.

The Members of all these Councils are placed and changed by the several Provinces, according to their different or agreeing Customs. To the States-General every one sends their Deputies in what Number they please; some two, some ten or twelve; which makes no Difference; because all Matters are carried, not by the Votes of Persons, but of Provinces; and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many soever, have one single Vote. The Provinces differ likewise in the Time fixed for their Deputation; some sending for a Year, some for more, and others for Life. The Provinces of *Holland* send to the States-General one of their Nobles, who is perpetual; two Deputies chosen out of their eight chief Towns, and one out of *North-Holland*; and with these, two of their Provincial Council of State, and their *Pensioners*.

Neither Stadtholder or Governor, or any Person in military Charge, has Session in the States-General. Every Province presides their Week in turns, and by the most qualified Person of the Deputies of that Province. He sits in a Chair with Arms, at the Middle of a long Table, capable of holding about thirty Persons; for about that Number this Council is usually composed of. The *Cressier*, who is in nature of a Secretary,

Secretary, sits at the lower End of the Table. When a foreign Minister has Audience, he is seated at the Middle of this Table over-against the President; who proposes all Matters in this Assembly, makes the *Greffier* read all Papers, puts the Question, calls the Voices of the Provinces, and forms the Conclusion; or, if he refuses to conclude according to the Plurality, he is obliged to resign his Place to the President of the ensuing Week, who concludes for him.

This is the Course in all Affairs before them, except in Cases of Peace and War, of foreign Alliances, of raising or coining of Monies, or the Privileges of each Province or Member of the Union: In all which, all the Provinces must concur, Plurality being not at all weighed or observed. This Council is not Sovereign, but only represents the Sovereignty: And therefore, though Ambassadors are both received, and sent in their Name; yet neither are their own chosen, nor foreign Ministers answered, nor any of those mentioned Affairs resolved, without consulting first the States of each Province by their respective Deputies, and receiving Orders from them. And, in other important Matters, though decided by Plurality, they frequently consult with the Council of State.

Nor has this Method or Constitution ever been broken since their State began, excepting only in one Affair; which was in *January* 1668, when his Majesty sent me over to propose a League of mutual Defence with this State, and another for the Preservation of *Flanders* from the Invasion of *France*: which had already conquered a great Part of the *Spanish* Provinces, and left the rest

at the Mercy of the next *Campania*. Upon this Occasion I had the Fortune to prevail with the States-General to conclude three Treaties, and upon them draw up and sign the several Instruments in the Space of five Days; without passing the essential Forms of their Government, by any Recourse to the Provinces, which must likewise have had it to the several Cities. There, I knew, those foreign Ministers whose Duty and Interest it was to oppose this Affair, expected to meet, and to elude it; which could not have failed, in case it had run that Circle, since engaging the Voice of one City must have broken it. It is true, that, in concluding these Alliances, without Commission from their Principals, the Deputies of the States-General ventured their Heads, if they had been disowned by their Provinces: But being all unanimous, and led by the clear Evidence of so direct and so important an Interest, (which must have been lost by the usual Delays), they all agreed to run the Hazard; and were so far from being disowned, that they were applauded by all the Members of every Province: having thereby changed the whole Face of Affairs in Christendom, and laid the Foundation of the triple Alliance, and the Peace of *Aix*, (which were concluded about four Months after). So great has the Force of Reason and Interest ever proved in this State, not only to the uniting of all Voices in their Assemblies, but to the absolving of the greatest Breach of their original Constitutions; even in a State, whose Safety and Greatness has been chiefly founded upon the severe and exact Observance of Order and Method in all their Counsels and Executions. Nor have they

they ever used, at any other Time, any greater Means to agree and unite the several Members of their Union, in the Resolutions necessary, upon the most pressing Occasions, than for the agreeing Provinces to name some of their ablest Persons to go and confer with the dissenting, and represent those Reasons and Interests, by which they have been induced to their Opinions.

The Council of State is composed of Deputies from the several Provinces; but after another Manner than the States-General, the Number being fixed. *Gelderland* sends two, *Holland* three, *Zealand* and *Utrecht* two a-piece, *Friezland*, *Queryssel*, and *Groninghen*, each of them one, making in all twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by personal Voices; and every Deputy presides by turns. In this Council, the Governor of the Provinces has Session, and a decisive Voice; and the Treasurer-General Session, but a Voice only deliberative; yet he has much Credit here, being for Life; and so is the Person deputed to this Council from the Nobles of *Holland*, and the Deputies of the Province of *Zealand*. The rest are but for two, three, or four Years.

The Council of State executes the Resolutions of the States-General; consults and proposes to them the most expedient Ways of raising Troops, and levying Monies, as well as the Proportions of both, which they conceive necessary in all Conjunctions and Revolutions of the State; superintends the Milice, the Fortifications, the Contributions out of Enemies Country, the Forms and Disposal of all Passports, and the Affairs, Revenues, and Government of all Places conquered

conquered since the Union; which, being gained by the common Arms of this State, depend upon the States-General, and not upon any particular Province.

Towards the End of every Year, this Council forms a State of the Expence they conceive will be necessary for the Year ensuing, presents it to the States-General, desiring them to demand so much of the States-Provincial, to be raised according to the usual Proportions; which are, of 300,000 Guilders,

	G.	St.	D.
<i>Gelderland</i>	3612	5	0
<i>Holland</i>	58309	1	10
<i>Zealand</i>	9183	14	2
<i>Utrecht</i>	5830	17	11
<i>Friezland</i>	11661	15	10
<i>Overysfel</i>	3571	8	14
<i>Groningue</i>	5930	17	11

This Petition, as it is called, is made to the States-General, in the Name of the Governor and Council of State; which is but a Continuance of the Forms used in the Time of their Sovereigns, and still by the Governors and Council of State in the *Spanish Netherlands*; Petition signifying barely asking or demanding, though implying the Thing demanded to be wholly in the Right and Power of them that give. It was used by the first Counts, only upon extraordinary Occasions and Necessities; but, in the Time of the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*, grew to be a Thing of Course, and annual, as it is still in the *Spanish Provinces*.

The

The Council of State disposes of all Sums of Money destined for all extraordinary Affairs, and expedites the Orders for the whole Expence of the State, upon the Resolutions first taken, in the main, by the States-General. The Orders must be signed by three Deputies of several Provinces, as well as by the Treasurer-General, and then registered in the Chamber of Accounts, before the Receiver-General pays them; which is then done without any Difficulty, Charge, or Delay.

Every Province raises what Monies it pleases, and by what Ways or Means; sends its *Quota*, or Share of the general Charge, to the Receiver-General; and converts the rest to the present Use, or reserves it for the future Occasions of the Province.

The Chamber of Accounts was erected about sixty Years ago, for the Ease of the Council of State, to examine and state all Accounts of all the several Receivers, to controul and register the Orders of the Council of State, which disposes of the Finances. And this Chamber is composed of two Deputies from each Province, who are changed every three Years.

Besides these Colleges, is the Council of the Admiralty; who, when the States-General, by Advice of the Council of State, have destined a Fleet of such a Number and Force to be set out, have the absolute Disposition of the marine Affairs, as well in the Choice and Equipage of all the several Ships, as in issuing the Monies allotted for that Service.

This College is subdivided into five; of which three are in *Holland*, viz. one in *Amsterdam*, another

another in *Rotterdam*, and the third at *Horn*. The fourth is at *Middleburg* in *Zealand*, and the fifth at *Harlinguen* in *Friezland*. Each of these is composed of seven Deputies, four of that Province where the College resides, and three named by the other Provinces. The Admiral, or, in his Absence, the Vice-Admiral, has Session in all these Colleges, and presides when he is present. They take Cognizance of all Crimes committed at Sea, judge all Pirates that are taken, and all Frauds or Negligences in the Payment or Collections of the Customs; which are particularly affected to the Admiralty, and applicable to no other Use. This Fund being not sufficient in Times of War, is supplied by the States with whatever more is necessary from other Funds; but, in Time of Peace, being little exhausted by other constant Charge, besides that of Convoys to their several Fleets of Merchants in all Parts, the Remainder of this Revenue is applied to the building of great Ships of War, and furnishing the several Arsenals and Stores with all sorts of Provision necessary for the building and rigging of more Ships than can be needed by the Course of a long War.

So soon as the Number and Force of the Fleets designed for any Expedition is agreed by the States-General, and given out by the Council of State to the Admiralty, each particular College furnishes their own Proportion, which is known as well as that of the several Provinces, in all Monies that are to be raised. In all which, the Admiral has no other Share or Advantage, besides his bare Salary, and his Proportion in Prizes that are taken. The Captains, and

and Superior Officers of each Squadron, are chosen by the several Colleges; the Number of Men appointed for every Ship: After which, each Captain uses his best Diligence and Credit to fill his Number with the best Men he can get, and takes the whole Care and Charge of victualling his own Ship for the Time intended for that Expedition, and signified to him by the Admiralty; and this at a certain Rate of so much a Man. And by the good or ill Discharge of his Trust, as well as that of providing Chirurgeons, Medicines, and all Things necessary for the Health of the Men, each Captain grows into good or ill Credit with the Seamen, and, by their Report, with the Admiralties: upon whose Opinion and Esteem the Fortune of all Sea-officers depends; so as, in all their Expeditions, there appears rather an Emulation among the particular Captains, who shall treat his Seamen best in these Points, and employ the Monies allotted for their Victualling to the best Advantage, than any little knavish Practices, of filling their own Purses by keeping their Mens Bellies empty, or forcing them to corrupted unwholesome Diet; upon which, and upon Cleanliness in their Ships, the Health of many People crowded up into so little Rooms seem chiefly to depend.

The Salaries of all the great Officers of this State are very small. I have already mentioned that of a Burgomaster's of *Amsterdam* to be about fifty Pounds *Sterling* a-year; that of their Vice-Admiral (for since the last Prince of *Orange's* Death to the Year 1670 there had been no Admiral) is five hundred; and that of the *Pensioner of Holland* two hundred.

The Greatness of this State seems much to consist in these Orders, how confused soever, and of different Pieces, they may seem; but more in two main Effects of them; which are, the good Choice of the Officers of chief Trust in the Cities, Provinces, and State; and the great Simplicity and Modesty in the common Port or Living of their chiefest Ministers, without which the Absoluteness of the Senates in each Town, and the Immensity of Taxes throughout the whole State, would never be endured by the People with any Patience; being both of them greater than in many of those Governments which are esteemed most arbitrary among their Neighbours. But, in the Assemblies and Debates of their Senates, every Man's Abilities are discovered, as their Dispositions are, in the Conduct of their Lives and Domestick, among their Fellow-citizens. The Observation of these either raises or suppresses the Credit of particular Men, both among the People, and the Senates of their Towns; who, to maintain their Authority with less popular Envy or Discontent, give much to the general Opinion of the People in the Choice of their Magistrates. By this means it comes to pass, that, though perhaps the Nation generally be not wise, yet the Government is, because it is composed of the wisest of the Nation; which may give it an Advantage over many others, where Ability is of more common Growth, but of less Use to the Publick; if it happens that neither Wisdom nor Honesty are the Qualities which bring Men to the Management of State-affairs, as they usually do in this Commonwealth.

Besides,

Besides, though these People, who are naturally cold and heavy, may not be ingenious enough to furnish a pleasant or agreeable Conversation; yet they want not plain downright Sense to understand and do their Business both publick and private; which is a Talent very different from the other; and I know not whether they often meet: For the first proceeds from Heat of the Brain; which makes the Spirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the Motions of Thought lighter and quicker, and the Range of Imagination much greater, than in cold Heads, where the Spirits are more earthy and dull; Thought moves slower and heavier, but thereby the Impressions of it are deeper, and last longer; one Imagination being not so frequently, nor so easily, effaced by another, as where new ones are continually arising. This makes duller Men more constant and steady, and quicker Men more inconstant and uncertain; whereas the greatest Ability in Business seems to be the steady Pursuit of some one Thing, till there is an End of it, with perpetual Application, and Endeavour not to be diverted by every Representation of new Hopes or Fears of Difficulty or Danger, or of some better Design. The first of these Talents cuts like a Razor, the other like a Hatchet; one has Thinness of Edge, and Fineness of Metal and Temper, but is easily turned by any Substance that is hard, and resists; the other has Toughness and Weight, which makes it cut through, or go deep, where-ever it falls: and therefore one is for Adornment, and the other for Use.

It may be said further, that the Heat of the

Heart commonly goes along with that of the Brain; so that Passions are warmer where Imaginations are quicker. And there are few Men, (unless in case of some evident natural Defect), but have Sense enough to distinguish in gross between Right and Wrong, between Good and Bad, when represented to them; and consequently have Judgment enough to do their Business, if it be left to itself, and not swayed nor corrupted by some Humour or Passion, by Anger or Pride, by Love or by Scorn, Ambition or Avarice, Delight or Revenge. So that the Coldness of Passions seems to be the natural Ground of Ability and Honesty among Men, as the Government or Moderation of them the great End of philosophical and moral Instructions. These Speculations may perhaps a little lessen the common Wonder, how we should meet with in one Nation so little Shew of Parts and of Wit, and so great Evidence of Wisdom and Prudence, as has appeared in the Conduct and Successes of this State for near an hundred Years; which needs no other Testimony, than the mighty Growth and Power it arrived to from so weak and contemptible Seeds and Beginnings.

The other Circumstance I mentioned, as an Occasion of their Greatness, was the Simplicity and Modesty of their Magistrates in their Way of Living; which is so general, that I never knew one among them exceed the common frugal popular Air; and so great, that of the two chief Officers in my Time, Vice-Admiral *De Ruiter*, and the Pensioner *De Wit*, (one generally esteemed by foreign Nations as great a Seaman, and the other as great a Statesman, as any of their

their Age), I never saw the first in Cloaths better than the commonest Sea-Captain, nor with above one Man following him, nor in a Coach: And, in his own House, neither was the Size, Building, Furniture, or Entertainment, at all exceeding the Use of every common Merchant and Tradesman in his Town. For the Pensioner *De Wit*, who had the great Influence in the Government, the whole Train and Expence of his Domestick went very equal with other common Deputies or Ministers of the State; his Habit grave, and plain, and popular; his Table what only served turn for his Family, or a Friend; his Train (besides Commissaries and Clerks kept for him in an Office adjoining to his House, at the publick Charge) was only one Man, who performed all the menial Service of his House at home; and, upon his Visits of Ceremony, putting on a plain Livery-cloak, attended his Coach abroad: For, upon other Occasions, he was seen usually in the Streets on Foot and alone, like the commonest Burgher of the Town. Nor was this Manner of Life affected, or used only by these particular Men; but was the general Fashion and Mode among all the Magistrates of the State: For I speak not of the military Officers, who are reckoned their Servants, and live in a different Garb, though generally modester than in other Countries.

Thus this stomachful People, who could not endure the least Exercise of arbitrary Power or Impositions, or the Sight of any foreign Troops under the *Spanish* Government, have been since inured to all of them, in the highest Degree, under their own popular Magistrates; bridled with

hard Laws, terrified with severe Executions, invironed with foreign Forces, and oppressed with the most cruel Hardship and Variety of Taxes that was ever known under any Government: But all this, whilst the Way to Office and Authority lies through those Qualities which acquire the general Esteem of the People; whilst no Man is exempted from the Danger and Current of Laws; whilst Soldiers are confined to Frontier-garrisons, (the Guard of inland or trading Towns being left to the Burghers themselves); and whilst no great Riches are seen to enter by publick Payments into private Purses, either to raise Families, or to feed the prodigal Expences of vain, extravagant, and luxurious Men; but all publick Monies are applied to the Safety, Greatness, or Honour of the State, and the Magistrates themselves bear an equal Share in all the Burdens they impose.

The Authority of the Princes of Orange.

The Authority of the Princes of Orange, though intermitted upon the untimely Death of the last, and Infancy of this present Prince; yet, as it must be ever acknowledged to have had a most essential Part in the first Frame of this Government, and in all the Fortunes thereof, during the whole Growth and Progress of the State; so has it ever preserved a very strong Root, not only in six of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular Affections of the Province of *Holland* itself, whose States have, for these last twenty Years, so much endeavoured to suppress or exclude it.

This began in the Person of Prince *William* of *Nassau*, at the very Birth of the State; and not
so

so much by the Quality of being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand* in *Charles V.'s* and *Philip II.'s* Time; as by the Esteem of so great Wisdom, Goodness, and Courage, as excelled in that Prince, and seems to have been from him derived to his whole Race; being, indeed, the Qualities that naturally acquire Esteem and Authority among the People in all Governments. Nor has this Nation in particular, since the Time perhaps of *Civilis*, ever been without some Head, under some Title or other; but always an Head subordinate to their Laws and Customs, and to the Sovereign Power of the State.

In the first Constitution of this Government, after the Revolt from *Spain*, all the Power and Rights of Prince *William of Orange*, as Governor of the Provinces, seem to have been carefully reserved. But those which remained inherent in the Sovereign, were devolved upon the Assembly of the States-General; so as in them remained the Power of making Peace and War, and all foreign Alliances, and of raising and coining of Monies: In the Prince, the Command of all Land and Sea Forces, as Captain-General and Admiral, and thereby the Disposition of all military Commands; the Power of pardoning the Penalty of Crimes; the choosing of Magistrates upon the Nomination of the Towns; for they presented three to the Prince, who elected one out of that Number. Originally the States-General were convoked by the Council of State, where the Prince had the greatest Influence: Nor, since that Change, have the States used to resolve any important Matter without his Advice. Besides all this, as the States-

States-General represented the Sovereignty, so did the Prince of *Orange* the Dignity of this State, by publick Guards, and the Attendance of all military Officers; by the Application of all foreign Ministers, and all Pretenders at home; by the Splendor of his Court, and Magnificence of his Expence, supported not only by the Pensions and Rights of his several Charges and Commands, but by a mighty patrimonial Revenue in Lands and Sovereign Principalities, and Lordships, as well in *France*, *Germany*, and *Burgundy*, as in the several Parts of the Seventeen Provinces; so as Prince *Henry* was used to answer some that would have flattered him into the Designs of a more arbitrary Power, That he had as much as any wise Prince would desire in that State; since he wanted none indeed, besides that of punishing Men, and raising Money; whereas he had rather the Envy of the first should lie upon the Forms of the Government; and he knew the other could never be supported without the Consent of the People, to that Degree which was necessary for the Defence of so small a State, against so mighty Princes as their Neighbours.

Upon these Foundations was this State first established, and by these Orders maintained, till the Death of the last Prince of *Orange*; when, by the great Influence of the Province of *Holland* amongst the rest, the Authority of the Princes came to be shared among the several Magistracies of the State; those of the Cities assumed the last Nomination of their several Magistrates; the States-Provincial, the Disposal of all military Commands in those Troops, which their Share was to pay; and the States-General, the Command

Command of the Armies, by Officers of their own Appointment, substituted and changed at their Will. No Power remained to pardon what was once condemned by Rigour of Law, nor any Person to represent the Port and Dignity of a Sovereign State: Both which could not fail of being sensibly missed by the People; since no Man in particular can be secure of offending, or would therefore absolutely despair of Impunity himself, though he would have others do so; and Men are generally pleased with the Pomp and Splendor of a Government, not only as it is an Amusement for idle People, but as it is a Mark of the Greatness, Honour, and Riches of their Country.

However these Defects were for near twenty Years supplied in some measure, and this Frame supported by the great Authority and Riches of the Province of *Holland*, which drew a sort of Dependence from the other six; and by the great Sufficiency, Integrity, and Constancy of their chief Minister, and by the Effect of both in the prosperous Successes of their Affairs: yet, having been a Constitution strained against the current Vein and Humour of the People, it was always evident, that, upon the Growth of this young Prince, the great Virtues and Qualities he derived from the Mixture of such Royal and such Princely Blood, could not fail, in Time, of raising his Authority to equal at least, if not to surpass, that of his glorious Ancestors.

Because the Curious may desire to know something of the other Provinces, as well as *Holland*, at least in general, and where they differ; it may be observed, that the Constitutions of *Gelderland*,

derland, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, agree much with those of *Holland*; the States in each Province being composed of Deputies from the Nobles and the Cities; but with these small Differences. In *Gelderland*, all the Nobles that have certain Fees or Lordships in the Province, have Session; they compose one half of the States, and the Deputies of the Towns the other. And though some certain Persons among them are deputed to the States-General, yet any of the Nobles of *Gelder* may have place there, if he will attend at his own Charge.

In *Zealand*, the Nobility having been extinguished in the *Spanish Wars*; and the Prince of *Orange* possessing the Marquises of *Flushing* and *Terveer*, his Highness alone makes that Part of the States in the Province, by the Quality and Title of *First, or Sole Noble of Zealand*, and thereby has, by his Deputy, the first Place and Voice in the States of the Province, the Council of State, and Chamber of Accounts. As Sovereign of *Flushing* and *Terveer*; he likewise creates the Magistrates, and consequently disposes the Voices, not only of the Nobles, but also of two Towns; whereas there are in all but six that send their Deputies to the States, and make up the Sovereignty of the Province.

In *Utrecht*, besides the Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, eight Delegates of the Clergy have Session, and make a third Member in the States of the Province. These are elected out of the four great Chapters of the Town; the Preferments and Revenues whereof, (though anciently Ecclesiastical), yet are now possessed by Laypersons,

persons, who are most of them Gentlemen of the Province.

The Government of the Province of *Friezland* is wholly different from that of the four Provinces already mentioned; and is composed of four Members, which are called, *The Quarter of O-stergo*, consisting of eleven Bailiages; of *Wester-go*, consisting of nine; and of *Seveawolden*, consisting of ten. Each Bailiage comprehends a certain Number of Villages, ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty, according to their several Extents. The fourth Member consists of the Towns of the Province, which are eleven in Number. These four Members have each of them Right of sending their Deputies to the States; that is, two chosen out of every Bailiage, and two out of every Town. And these represent the Sovereignty of the Province, and deliberate and conclude of all Affairs, of what Importance soever, without any Recourse to those who deputed them, or Obligation to know their Intentions; which the Deputies of all the former Provinces are strictly bound to; and either must follow the Instructions they bring with them to the Assembly, or know the Resolution of their Principals before they conclude of any new Affair that arises.

In the other Provinces, the Nobles of the Towns chuse the Deputies which compose the States; but in *Friezland* the Constitution is of quite another sort. For every Bailiage, which is composed of a certain Extent of Country, and Number of Villages, (as has been said), is governed by a Bailie, whom, in their Language, they call *Greetman*; and this Officer governs his Circuit, with the Assistance of a certain Number of

of Persons, who are called his *Assessors*; who together judge of all Civil Causes in the first Instance, but with Appeal to the Court of Justice of the Province. When the States are convoked, every Bailie assembles together all the Persons, of what Quality soever, who possess a certain Quantity of Land within his District; and these Men, by most Voices, name the two Deputies which each Bailiage sends to the Assembly of the States.

This Assembly, as it represents the Sovereignty of the Province; so it disposes of all vacant Charges, chuses the nine Deputies who compose that permanent College, which is the Council of State of the Province; and likewise twelve Counsellors, (that is, three for every Quarter), who compose the Court of Justice of the Province, and judge of all Civil Causes in the last Resort, but of all Criminal from the first Instance: there being no other Criminal Jurisdiction, but this only, through the Province: Whereas, in the other Provinces, there is no Town which has it not within itself; and several, both Lords and Villages, have the high and low Justice belonging to them.

In the Province of *Groningue*, which is upon the same Tract of Land, the Elections of the Deputies out of the Country are made as in *Friesland*, by Persons possessed of set Proportions of Land; but, in *Overyssel*, all Nobles, who are qualified by having Seignourial Lands, make a Part of the States.

These three Provinces, with *Westphalia*, and all those Countries between the *Wezer*, the *Yssel*, and the *Rhine*, were the Seat of the ancient *Frisons*;

sons; who, under the Name of Saxons, (given them from the Weapon they wore) made like a Scythe, with the Edge outwards, and called in their Language *Seaxes*), were the fierce Conquerors of our *British* Island; being called in, upon the Desertion of the *Roman* Forces, and the cruel Incurfions of the *Picts*, against a People, whose long Wars, at first with the *Romans*, and afterwards Servitude under them, had exhausted all the bravest Blood of their Nation, either in their own or their Masters succeeding Quarrels, and depressed the Hearts and Courages of the rest.

The Bishop of *Munster*, whose Territories lie in this Tract of Land, gave me the first certain Evidences of those being the Seats of our ancient *Saxons*; which have since been confirmed to me by many Things I have observed in reading the Stories of those Times, and by what has been affirmed to me, upon Inquiry, of the *Frisons* old Language having still so great Affinity with our old *English*, as to appear easily to have been the same; most of their Words still retaining the same Signification and Sound; very different from the Language of the *Hollanders*. This is the most remarkable in a little Town called *Mal-cuera*, upon the *Zudder* Sea in *Friezland*, which is still built after the Fashion of the old *German* Villages, described by *Tacitus*, without any Use or Observation of Lines or Angles; but as if every Man had built in a common Field just where he had a mind, so as a Stranger, when he goes in, must have a Guide to find the Way out again.

Upon these Informations and Remarks, and the particular Account afterwards given me of

the Constitutions of the Province of *Friezland*, so different from the others; I began to make Reflexions upon them, as the likeliest Originals of many ancient Constitutions among us, of which no others can be found; and which may seem to have been introduced by the *Saxons* here, and, by their long and absolute Possession of that Part of the Isle called *England*, to have been so planted and rooted among us, as to have waded safe, in a great measure, through the succeeding Inundations and Conquests of the *Danish* and *Norman* Nations. And perhaps there may be much Matter found for the curious Remarks of some diligent and studious Antiquaries, in the Comparisons of the *Bailli* or *Greetman* among the *Frisons*, with our *Sheriff*; of their *Assessors*, with our Justices of Peace; of their judging Civil Causes in their District, upon the first Resort, but not without Appeal, with the Course of our Quarter-sessions; of their chief Judicature, being composed of Counsellors of four several Quarters, with our four Circuits, these being the common Criminal Judicature of the Country; of the Composition of their States, with our Parliament, at least our House of Commons; in the Particulars of two Deputies being chosen from each Town, as with us, and two from each Baillage, as from each County here; and these last by Voices of all Persons possessed of a certain Quantity of Land, and at a Meeting assembled by the *Greetman* to that purpose; and these Deputies having Power to resolve of all Matters, without Resort to those that chose them, or Knowledge of their Intentions: Which are all Circumstances agreeing with

with our Constitutions; but absolutely differing from those of the other Provinces in the United States and from the Composition, I think, of the States either now or formerly used in the other Nations of *Europe*.

To this Original, I suppose, we likewise owe what I have often wondered at, that, in *England*, we neither see, nor find upon Record, any Lord or Lordship that pretends to have the Exercise of Judicature belong to it, either that which is called *high* or *low Justice*; which seems to be a Badge of some ancient Sovereignty: though we see them very frequent among our Neighbours, both under more arbitrary Monarchies, and under the most free and popular States.

CHAP. III.

Of the Situation of the United Provinces.

Holland, Zealand, Friezland, and Groningen, are seated upon the Sea, and make the Strength and Greatness of this State. The other three, with the conquered Towns in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Cleve*, make only the Outworks or Frontiers, serving chiefly for Safety and Defence of these. No Man can tell the strange and mighty Changes that may have been made in the Face and Bounds of maritime Countries, at one Time or other, by furious Inundations, upon the unusual Concurrence of Land-floods, Winds, and Tides; and therefore no

Man knows, whether the Province of *Holland* may not have been, in some past Ages, all Wood, and rough unequal Ground, as some old Traditions go; and levelled to what we see, by the Sea's breaking in, and continuing long upon the Land; since recovered by its Recess, and with the Help of Industry. For it is evident, that the Sea, for some Space of Years, advances continually upon one Coast, retiring from the opposite; and, in another Age, quite changes this Course, yielding up what it had seized, and seizing what it had yielded up, without any Reason to be given of such contrary Motions. But I suppose, this great Change was made in *Holland*, when the Sea first parted *England* from the Continent, breaking through a Neck of Land between *Dover* and *Calais*; which may be a Tale, but I am sure is no Record. It is certain, on the contrary, that, sixteen hundred Years ago, there was no usual Mention or Memory of any such Changes; and that the Face of all these Coasts, and Nature of the Soil, especially that of *Holland*, was much as it is now; allowing only the Improvements of Riches, Time, and Industry: Which appears by the Description made in *Tacitus**, both of the Limits of the Isle of *Batavia*, and the Nature of the Soil, as well as the Climate,

* *Rhenus, apud principium agri Batavi, velut in duas arvas dividitur. Ad Gallicam ripam latior & placidior, verso cognomento, Vahalem accolæ dicunt. Mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosâ flumine, ejusque immenso ore eundem in oceanum effunditur.*

Cum interim flexu autumnû & crebris imbribus superfusus annis, palustrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni effudit.

mate, with the very Names and Course of Rivers, still remaining.

It is likely, the Changes arriv'd since that Age in these Countries, may have been made by Stoppages grown in Time, with the rolling of Sands upon the Mouths of three great Rivers, which disimbogued into the Sea through the Coasts of these Provinces; that is, the *Rhine*, the *Mose*, and the *Scheld*. The ancient *Rhine* divided, where *Skencksconce* now stands, into two Rivers; of which one kept the Name, till, running near *Leyden*, it fell into the Sea at *Catwick*; where are still seen, at low Tides, the Foundations of an ancient *Roman* Castle that commanded the Mouth of this River. But this is wholly stopped up, though a great Canal still preserves the Name of the *Old Rhine*. The *Mose*, running by *Dort* and *Roterdam*, fell, as it now does, into the Sea at the *Briel*, with mighty Issues of Water: But the Sands, gathered for three or four Leagues upon this Coast, make the Haven extreme dangerous, without great Skill of Pilots, and Use of Pilot-boats, that come out with every Tide to welcome and secure the Ships bound for that River. And it is probable, that these Sands, having obstructed the free Course of the River, has at Times caus'd or increased those Inundations, out of which so many Islands have been recovered; and of which that Part of the Country is so much compos'd.

The *Scheld* seems to have had its Issue by *Walcheren* in *Zealand*; which was an Island in the Mouth of that River, till the Inundations of that and the *Mose* seem to have been joined together, by some great Helps or Irruptions of the

Sea, by which the whole Country was overwhelmed; which now makes that inland Sea that serves for a common Passage between *Holland, Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant*. The Sea, for some Leagues from *Zealand*, lies generally upon such Banks of Sand, as it does upon the Mouth of the *Maze*, though separated by something better Channels than are found in the other.

That which seems likeliest to have been the Occasion of stopping up wholly one of these Rivers, and obstructing the others, is the Course of Westerly Winds, (which drive upon this Shore), being so much more constant and violent than the East. For, taking the Seasons and Years one with another, I suppose there will be observed three Parts of Westerly for one Easterly Winds: Besides that these last generally attend the calm Frosts and fair Weather, and the other the stormy and foul. And I have had Occasion to make Experiment of the Sands rising and sinking before a Haven, by two Fits of these contrary Winds, above four Foot. This, I presume, is likewise the natural Reason of so many deep and commodious Havens found upon all the *English* Side of the Channel, and so few (or indeed none) upon the *French* and *Dutch*: An Advantage seeming to be given us by Nature, and never to be equalled by any Art or Expence of our Neighbours.

I remember no Mention in ancient Authors of that which is now called the *Zudder Sea*; which makes me imagine, that may have been formed likewise by some great Inundation breaking in between the *Tessel* Islands, and others, that lie still

in a Line contiguous, and like the broken Remainers of a continued Coast. This seems more probable, from the great Shallowness of that Sea, and Flatness of the Sands upon the whole Extent of it; from the violent Rage of the Waters breaking in that Way, which threaten the Parts of *North-Holland* about *Medenblick* and *Enchusen*, and brave it over the highest and strongest Digues of the Province, upon every high Tide and Storm at North-West; as likewise, from the Names of *East* and *West Friezland*, which should have been one Continent till divided by this Sea. For, in the Time of *Tacitus* *, no other Distinction was known, but that of *Greater* or *Lesser Frisians*; and that only from the Measure of their Numbers or Forces. And though they were said to have great Lakes among them, yet that Word seems to import they were of fresh Water; which is made yet plainer by the Word *ambiant*, that shews those Lakes to have been inhabited round by these Nations. From all this I should guess, that the more inland Part of the *Zudder* Sea was one of the Lakes there mentioned, between which and the *Tessel* and *Ulie* Islands, there lay anciently a great Tract of Land; (where the Sands are still so shallow, and so continued, as seems to make it evident); but since covered by some great Irruptions of Waters, that joined those of the Sea and the Lake together, and thereby made that great Bay, now called the *Zudder-Sea*; by favour whereof the

* *A fronte Frisii excipiunt. Majoribus Minoribusque Frisii vocabulum est, ex modo virum. Utræque nationes usque ad oceanum Rheno prætexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus. Tacit. de Mor. Ger.*

Town of *Amsterdam* has grown to be the most frequented Haven of the World.

Whatever it was, whether Nature or Accident, and upon what Occasion soever it arrived, the Soil of the whole Province of *Holland* is generally flat, like the Sea in a Calm, and looks as if, after a long Contention between Land and Water, which it should belong to, it had at length been divided between them. For, to consider the great Rivers, and the strange Number of Canals that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great Town, but almost to every Village, and every Farm-house in the Country; and the Infinity of Sails that are seen every where coursing up and down upon them; one would imagine the Water to have shared with the Land, and the People that live in Boats to hold some Proportion with those that live in Houses. And this is one great Advantage towards Trade, which is natural to the Situation, and not be attained in any Country, where there is not the same Level and Softness of Soil; which makes the cutting of Canals so easy Work, as to be attempted almost by every private Man; and one Horse shall draw in a Boat more than fifty can do by Cart; whereas Carriage makes a great Part of the Price in all heavy Commodities. And, by this easy way of Travelling, an industrious Man loses no Time from his Business: For he writes, or eats, or sleeps, while he goes; whereas the Time of labouring or industrious Men, is the greatest native Commodity of any Country.

There is, besides, one very great Lake of fresh Water still remaining in the Midst of this Province,

Province, by the Name of *Harlem Maer*; which might, as they say, be easily drained, and would thereby make a mighty Addition of Land to a Country where nothing is more wanted; and receive a great Quantity of People, in which they abound, and who make their Greatness and Riches. Much Discourse there has been about such an Attempt; but the City of *Leyden*, having no other way of refreshing their Town, or renewing the Water of their Canals, but from this *Maer*, will never consent to it. On the other side, *Amsterdam* will ever oppose the opening and cleansing of the old Channel of the *Rhine*; which, they say, might easily be compassed, and by which the Town of *Leyden* would grow maritime, and share a great Part of the Trade now ingrossed by *Amsterdam*. There is in *North-Holland* an Essay already made; at the Possibility of draining these great Lakes, by one, of about two Leagues broad, having been made firm Land, within these forty Years. This makes that Part of the Country called the *Bemster*; being now the richest Soil of the Province, lying upon a dead Flat, divided with Canals, and the Ways through it distinguished with Ranges of Trees; which make the pleasantest Summerlandskip of any Country I have seen of that sort.

Another Advantage of their Situation for Trade, is made by those two great Rivers of the *Rhine* and *Mose*, reaching up, and navigable, so mighty a Length, into so rich and populous Countries of the Higher and Lower *Germany*; which, as it brings down all the Commodities from those Parts to the Magazines in *Holland*, that vent them by their Shipping into all Parts
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of the World where the Market calls for them; so, with something more Labour and Time, it returns all the Merchandizes of other Parts into those Countries that are seated upon these Streams. For their commodious Seat as to the Trade of the *Streights*, or *Baltick*, or any Parts of the Ocean, I see no Advantage they have of most Parts of *England*; and they must certainly yield to many we possess, if we had other equal Circumstances to value them.

The Lowness and Flatness of their Lands, makes in a great measure the Richness of their Soil; that is easily overflowed every Winter, so as the whole Country, at that Season, seems to lie under Water; which, in Spring, is driven out again by Mills. But that which mends the Earth, spoils the Air; which would be all Fog and Mist, if it were not cleared by the Sharpness of their Frosts, which never fail with every East-wind for about four Months of the Year; and are much fiercer than in the same Latitude with us; because that Wind comes to them over a mighty Length of dry Continent, but is moistened by the Vapours, or softened by the Warmth of the Sea's Motion, before it reaches us.

And this is the greatest Disadvantage of Trade they receive from their Situation, though necessary to their Health; because many times their Havens are all shut up for two or three Months with Ice, when ours are open and free.

The fierce Sharpness of these Winds makes the Changes of their Weather and Seasons more violent and surprising than in any Place I know; so as a warm faint Air turns in a Night to a sharp Frost, with the Wind coming into the North-

North-east; and the contrary with another Change of Wind. The Spring is much shorter, and less agreeable, than with us; the Winter much colder, and some Parts of the Summer much hotter; and I have known more than once the Violence of one give way to that of the other, like the cold Fit of an Ague to the hot, without any good Temper between.

The Flatness of their Land exposes it to the Danger of the Sea, and forces them to infinite Charge in the continual Fences and Repairs of their Banks to oppose it; which employ yearly more Men than all the Corn of the Province of *Holland* could maintain, (as one of their chief Ministers has told me). They have lately found the common Sea-weed to be the best Material for these Diques; which, fastened with a thin Mixture of Earth, yields a little to the Force of the Sea, and returns when the Waves give back; whether they are thereby the safer against Water, as, they say, Houses that shake are against Wind; or whether, as pious Naturalists observe, all Things carry about them that which serves for a Remedy against the Mischiefs they do in the World.

The extreme Moisture of the Air I take to be the Occasion of the great Neatness in their Houses, and Cleanliness in their Towns. For, without the Help of those Customs, their Country would not be habitable by such Crowds of People; but the Air would corrupt upon every hot Season, and expose the Inhabitants to general and infectious Diseases; which they hardly escape three Summers together, especially about *Leyden*, where the Waters are not so easily renewed.

newed. And for this Reason I suppose it is, that *Leyden* is found to be the neatest and cleanest kept of all their Towns.

The same Moisture of Air makes all Metals apt to rust, and Wood to mould; which forces them, by continual Pains of rubbing and scouring, to seek a Prevention or Cure. This makes the Brightness and Cleanness that seems affected in their Houses, and is called natural to them by People who think no further. So the Deepness of their Soil, and Wetness of Seasons, which would render it unpassable, forces them, not only to Exactness of Paving in their Streets, but to the Expence of so long Causeys between many of their Towns, and in their Highways: As indeed most national Customs are the Effect of some unseen or unobserved natural Causes or Necessities.

C H A P. IV.

Of the People of the United Provinces, and their Dispositions.

THE People of *Holland* may be divided into these several Classes: The Clowns or Boors, (as they call them), who cultivate the Land; the Mariners or Skippers, who supply their Ships, and inland Boats; the Merchants or Traders, who fill their Towns; the *Renteners*, or Men that live in all their chief Cities upon the Rents or Interest of Estates formerly acquired,

acquired in their Families; and the Gentlemen, and Officers of their Armies.

The first are a Race of People, diligent rather than laborious; dull and slow of Understanding, and so not dealt with by hasty Words; but managed easily by soft and fair; and yielding to plain Reason, if you give them Time to understand it. In the Country and Villages, not too near the great Towns, they seem plain and honest, and content with their own; so that if, in Bounty, you give them a Shilling for what is worth but a Groat, they will take the current Price, and give you the rest again; if you bid them take it, they know not what you mean, and sometimes ask, If you are a Fool? They know no other Good, but the Supply of what Nature requires, and the common Increase of Wealth. They feed most upon Herbs, Roots, and Milks; and by that means, I suppose, neither their Strength nor Vigour seems answerable to the Size or Bulk of their Bodies.

The Mariners are a plain, but much rougher People; whether from the Element they live in, or from their Food, which is generally Fish and Corn, and heartier than that of the Boors. They are surly and ill-mannered, which is mistaken for Pride; but, I believe, is learned, as all Manners are, by the Conversation we use. Now, theirs lying only among one another, or with Winds and Waves, which are not moved or wrought upon by any Language or Observation, or to be dealt with, but by Pains and by Patience; these are all the Qualities their Mariners have learned; their Valour is *passive*, rather than *active*; and their Language is little more

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than what is of necessary Use to their Business.

The Merchants and Tradesmen, both the greater and mechanick, living in Towns that are of great Resort, both by Strangers, and Passengers of their own, are more *mercurial*, (Wit being sharpened by Commerce and Conversation of Cities). Though they are not very inventive, which is the Gift of warmer Heads; yet are they great in Imitation, and so far many times as goes beyond the Originals; of mighty Industry, and constant Application to the Ends they propose and pursue. They make use of their Skill, and their Wit, to take Advantage of other Mens Ignorance and Folly they deal with; are great Exacters, where the Law is in their own Hands: In other Points, where they deal with Men that understand like themselves, and are under the Reach of Justice and Laws, they are the plainest and best Dealers in the World; which seems not to grow so much from a Principle of Conscience, or Morality, as from a Custom or Habit introduced by the Necessity of Trade among them; which depends as much upon common Honesty, as War does upon Discipline; and without which all would break up, Merchants would turn Pedlars, and Soldiers Thieves.

Those Families which live upon their patrimonial Estates in all the great Cities, are a People differently bred and mannered from the Traders, though like them in the Modesty of Garb and Habit, and the Parsimony of Living. Their Youth are generally bred up at Schools, and at the Universities of *Leyden* or *Utrecht*, in the common Studies of human Learning, but chiefly of the Civil Law; which is that of their Country,

Country, at least as far as it is so in *France* and *Spain*. For (as much as I understand of those Countries) no Decisions or Decrees of the Civil Law, nor Constitutions of the *Roman* Emperors, have the Force or Current of Law among them, as is commonly believed, but only the Force of Reasons when alledged before their Courts of Judicature, as far as the Authority of Men esteemed wise passes for Reason. But the ancient Customs of those several Countries, and the Ordonnances of their Kings and Princes, consented to by the Estates, or in *France* verified by Parliaments, have only the Strength and Authority of Law among them.

Where these Families are rich, their Youths, after the Course of their Studies at home, travel for some Years, as the Sons of our Gentry use to do: But their Journeys are chiefly into *England* and *France*, not much into *Italy*, seldomer into *Spain*; nor often into the more Northern Countries, unless in Company or Train of their publick Ministers. The chief End of their Breeding is, to make them fit for the Service of their Country in the Magistracy of their Towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of these kind of Men are the Civil Officers of this Government generally composed, being descended of Families who have many times been constantly in the Magistracy of their native Towns for many Years, and some for several Ages.

Such were most or all of the chief Ministers, and the Persons that composed their chief Councils, in the Time of my Residence among them; and not Men of mean or mechanick Trades, as it is commonly received among Foreigners, and

makes the Subject of comical Jests upon their Government. This does not exclude many Merchants, or Traders in gross, from being often seen in the Offices of their Cities, and sometimes deputed to their States; nor several of their States from turning their Stocks in the Management of some very beneficial Trade, by Servants, and Houses maintained to that Purpose. But the Generality of the States and Magistrates are of the other sort; their Estates consisting in the Pensions of their publick Charges, in the Rents of Lands, or Interest of Money upon the *Cantores*, or in Actions of the *East-India* Company, or in Shares upon the Adventures of great Trading-merchants.

Nor do these Families, habituated as it were to the Magistracy of their Towns and Provinces, usually arrive at great or excessive Riches; the Salaries of publick Employments and Interest being low, but the Revenue of Lands being yet very much lower, and seldom exceeding the Profit of two in the hundred. They content themselves with the Honour of being useful to the Publick, with the Esteem of their Cities or their Country, and with the Ease of their Fortunes; which seldom fails, by the Frugality of their Living, grown universal; by being (I suppose) at first necessary, but since honourable among them.

The mighty Growth and Excess of Riches is seen among the Merchants and Traders; whose Application lies wholly that way, and who are the better content to have so little Share in the Government, desiring only Security in what they possess; troubled with no Cares, but those
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of their Fortunes, and the Management of their Trades, and turning the rest of their Time and Thought to the Divertisement of their Lives. Yet these, when they attain great Wealth, chuse to breed up their Sons in the Way, and marry their Daughters into the Families of those others most generally credited in their Towns, and versed in their Magistracies; and thereby introduce their Families into the Way of Government and Honour; which consists not here in Titles, but in publick Employments.

The next Rank among them, is that of their Gentlemen or Nobles; who, in the Province of *Holland*, (to which I chiefly confine these Observations), are very few, most of the Families having been extinguished in the long Wars with *Spain*. But those that remain, are in a manner all employed in the Military or Civil Charges of the Province or State. These are, in their Customs and Manners, and Way of Living, a good deal different from the rest of the People; and, having been bred much abroad, rather affect the Garb of their Neighbour-courts, than the popular Air of their own Country. They value themselves more upon their Nobility, than Men do in other Countries where it is more common; and would think themselves utterly dishonoured by the Marriage of one that were not of their Rank, though it were to make up the broken Fortune of a Noble Family, by the Wealth of a *Plebeian*. They strive to imitate the *French*, in their Mien, their Cloaths, their Way of Talk, of Eating, of Gallantry or Debauchery; and are, in my Mind, something worse than they would be, by affecting to be better than they need; making some-

times but ill Copies; whereas they might be good Originals, by refining or improving the Customs and Virtues proper to their own Country and Climate. They are otherwise an honest, well-natured, friendly, and Gentlemany sort of Men; and acquit themselves generally with Honour and Merit, where their Country employs them.

The Officers of their Armies live after the Customs and Fashions of the Gentlemen: And so do many Sons of the rich Merchants; who, returning from Travel abroad, have more Designs upon their own Pleasure, and the Vanity of appearing, than upon the Service of their Country; or, if they pretend to enter into that, it is rather by the Army than the State. And all these are generally desirous to see a Court in their Country, that they may value themselves at home by the Qualities they have learned abroad, and make a Figure; which agrees better with their own Humour, and the Manner of Courts, than with the Customs and Orders that prevail in more popular Governments.

There are some Customs or Dispositions that seem to run generally through all these Degrees of Men among them; as great Frugality and Order in their Expences. Their common Riches lie in every Man's having more than he spends; or, to say it more properly, in every Man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will. Nor does it enter into Mens Heads among them, that the common Port or Course of Expende should equal the Revenue; and when this happens, they think at least they have lived that Year to no Purpose; and the Train of it discredits a Man among them, as much as a
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ny vitious or prodigal Extravagance does in other Countries. This enables every Man to bear their extreme Taxes, and makes them less sensible than they would be in other Places: For he that lives upon two Parts in five of what he has coming in, if he pays two more to the State, he does but part with what he should have laid up, and had no present Use for; whereas he that spends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the fiftieth Part to the Publick, it goes from him like that which was necessary to buy Bread or Cloaths for himself or his Family.

This makes the Beauty and Strength of their Towns; the Commodiousness of travelling in their Country, by their Canals, Bridges, and Causeys; the Pleasantness of their Walks, and their Grasts in and near all their Cities; and, in short, the Beauty, Convenience, and sometimes Magnificence, of their publick Works; to which every Man pays as willingly, and takes as much Pleasure and Vanity in them, as those of other Countries do in the same Circumstances among the Possessions of their Families, or private Inheritance. What they can spare, besides the necessary Expence of their Domestick, the publick Payments, and the common Course of still increasing their Stock, is laid out in the Fabrick, Adornment, or Furniture of their Houses; Things not so transitory, or so prejudicial to Health and to Business, as the constant Excesses and Luxury of Tables; nor perhaps altogether so vain as the extravagant Expences of Cloaths and Attendance: At least, these end wholly in a Man's self, and the Satisfaction of his personal Humour; whereas the other make not only the Riches

Riches of a Family, but contribute much towards the publick Beauty and Honour of a Country.

The Order in casting up their Expences is so great and general, that no Man offers at any Undertaking which he is not prepared for, and Master of his Design, before he begins; so as I have neither observed nor heard of any Building, publick or private, that has not been finished in the Time designed for it. So are their Canals, Causeys, and Bridges: So was their Way from the *Hague* to *Skeveling*; a Work that might have become the old *Romans*, considering how soon it was dispatched. The House at the *Hague*, built purposely for casting of Cannon, was finished in one Summer, during the Heat of the first *English* War; and looked rather like a Design of Vanity in their Government, than Necessity or Use. The Stadthouse of *Amsterdam* has been left purposely to Time, without any Limitation in the first Design, either of that, or of Expence; both that the Diligence and the Genius of so many succeeding Magistrates should be employed in the Collection of all Things that could be esteemed proper to increase the Beauty or Magnificence of that Structure; and perhaps a little to reprieve the Experiment of a current Prediction, That the Trade of that city should begin to fall the same Year the Stadthouse should be finished, as it did at *Antwerp*.

Charity seems to be very national among them, though it be regulated by Orders of the Country, and not usually moved by the common Objects of Compassion. But it is seen in the admirable Provisions that are made out of it
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for all sorts of Persons that can want, or ought to be kept in a Government. Among the many and various Hospitals, that are in every Man's Curiosity and Talk that travels their Country, I was affected with none more than that of the aged Seamen at *Enchusyen*; which is contrived, finished, and ordered, as if it were done with a kind Intention of some well-natured Man, that those who had passed their whole Lives in the Hardships and Incommodities of the Sea, should find a Retreat, stored with all the Eases and Conveniences that old Age is capable of feeling and enjoying. And here I met with the only rich Man that I ever saw in my Life: For one of these old Seamen, entertaining me a good while with the plain Stories of his fifty Years Voyages and Adventures, while I was viewing their Hospital, and the Church adjoining, I gave him, at parting, a Piece of their Coin about the Value of a Crown. He took it smiling, and offered it me again: But, when I refused it, he asked me, What he should do with Money? for all that ever they wanted, was provided for them at their House. I left him to overcome his Modesty as he could; but a Servant coming after me, saw him give it to a little Girl that opened the Church-door, as she passed by him. Which made me reflect upon the fantastick Calculation of Riches and Poverty that is current in the World, by which a Man that wants a Million, is a Prince; he that wants but a Groat, is a Beggar; and this was a poor Man, that wanted nothing at all.

In general, all Appetites and Passions seem to run lower and cooler here than in other Countries where I have conversed. Avarice
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may be excepted. And yet that shall not be so violent, where it feeds only upon Industry and Parsimony, as where it breaks out into Fraud, Rapine and Oppression. But Quarrels are seldom seen among them, unless in their Drink; Revenge rarely heard of, or Jealousy known. Their Tempers are not airy enough for Joy, or any unusual Strains of pleasant Humour; nor warm enough for Love. This is talked of sometimes among the younger Men, but as a Thing they have heard of, rather than felt; and as a Discourse that becomes them, rather than affects them. I have known some among them that personated Lovers well enough, but none that I ever thought were at Heart in Love; nor any of the Women that seemed at all to care whether they were so or no: Whether it be, that they are such Lovers of their Liberty, as not to bear the Servitude of a Mistress, any more than that of a Master; or that the Dulness of their Air renders them less susceptible of more refined Passions; or that they are diverted from it by the general Intention every Man has upon his Business, whatever it is; (nothing being so mortal an Enemy of Love, that suffers no Rival, as any Bent of Thought another Way).

The same Causes may have had the same Effects among their married Women; who have the whole Care and absolute Management of all their Domestick; and live with very general good Fame; a certain sort of Chastity being hereditary and habitual among them, as Probity among the Men.

The same Dulness of Air may dispose them to that strange Assiduity and constant Application

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tion of their Minds, with that perpetual Study and Labour upon any Thing they design and take in hand. This gives them Patience to pursue the Quest of Riches by so long Voyages and Adventures to the *Indies*, and by so long Parsimony as that of their whole Lives. Nay, I have (for a more particular Example of this Disposition among them) known one Man that was employed four and twenty Years about the making and perfecting of a Globe, and another above thirty about the inlaying of a Table. Nor does any Man know, how much may have been contributed towards the great Things in all kinds, both publick and private, that have been archieved among them, by this one Humour of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to pass, nor leaving one Scent to follow another they meet with; which is the Property of the lighter and more ingenious Nations: And the Humour of a Government being usually the same with that of the Persons that compose it, not only in this, but in all other Points; so as, where Men that govern are wise, good, steady, and just, the Government will appear so too; and the contrary, where they are otherwise.

The same Qualities in their Air may incline them to the Entertainments and Customs of Drinking, which are so much laid to their Charge; and, for ought I know, may not only be necessary to their Health, (as they generally believe it), but to the Vigour and Improvement of their Understandings, in the midst of a thick foggy Air, and so much Coldness of Temper and Complexion. For though the Use or Excess

cess of Drinking may destroy Mens Abilities who live in better Climates, and are of warmer Constitutions; Wine to hot Brains being like Oil to Fire, and making the Spirits, by too much Lightness, evaporate into Smoke, and perfect airy Imaginations; or, by too much Heat, rage into Frenzy, or at least into Humours and Thoughts that have a great Mixture of it: yet, on the other side, it may improve Mens Parts and Abilities of cold Complexions, and in dull Air; and may be necessary to thaw and move the frozen or unactive Spirits of the Brain; to rouse sleepy Thought, and refine grosser Imaginations; and perhaps to animate the Spirits of the Heart, as well as enliven those of the Brain. Therefore the old *Germans* seemed to have some Reason in their Custom, not to execute any great Resolutions which had not been twice debated, and agreed at two several Assemblies, one in an Afternoon, and the other in a Morning; because they thought, their Counsels might want Vigour when they were sober, as well as Caution when they had drunk.

Yet, in *Holland*, I have observed very few of their chief Officers or Ministers of State vitious in this kind; or, if they drunk much, it was only at set Feasts, and rather to acquit themselves, than of Choice or Inclination. And for the Merchants and Traders, with whom it is customary, they never do it in a Morning, nor till they come from the Exchange, where the Business of the Day is commonly dispatched: Nay, it hardly enters into their Heads, that it is lawful to drink at all before that Time; but they will excuse it, if you come to their House, and tell you
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how sorry they are you come in a Morning, when they cannot offer you to drink; as if at that Time of Day it were not only unlawful for them to drink themselves, but so much as for a Stranger to do it within their Walls.

The Afternoon, or at least the Evening, is given to whatever they find will divert them; and is no more than needs, considering how they spend the rest of the Day, in Thought or in Cares, in Toils or in Business. For Nature cannot hold out with constant Labour of Body, and as little with constant Bent or Application of Mind. Much Motion of the same Parts of the Brain either wearies and wastes them too fast for Repair, or else, as it were, fires the Wheels; and so ends, either in general Decays of the Body, or Distractions of the Mind: For these are usually occasioned by perpetual Motions of Thought about some one Object; whether it be about one's self in Excesses of Pride, or about another in those of Love or of Grief. Therefore none are so excusable as Men of much Care and Thought, or of great Business, for giving up their Times of Leisure to any Pleasures or Diversions that offend no Laws, nor hurt others or themselves. And this seems the Reason, that, in all Civil Constitutions, not only Honours, but Riches, are annexed to the Charges of those who govern, and upon whom the publick Cares are meant to be devolved; not only, that they may not be distracted from these, by the Cares of their own domestick or private Interests; but that, by the Help of Esteem and of Riches, they may have those Pleasures and Diversions in their Reach, which idle Men neither need nor deserve;

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but which are necessary for the Refreshment or Repair of Spirits exhausted with Cares and with Toil, and which serve to sweeten and preserve those Lives that would otherwise wear out too fast, or grow too uneasy in the Service of the Publick.

The two Characters that are left by the old *Roman* Writers, of the ancient *Batavi* or *Hollanders* *, are, That they were both the bravest among the *German* Nations, and the most obstinate Lovers and Defenders of their Liberty; which made them exempted from all Tribute by the *Romans*, who desired only Soldiers of their Nation, to make up some of their auxiliary Bands, as they did in former Ages of those Nations in *Italy* that were their Friends and Allies. The last Disposition seems to have continued constant and national among them, ever since that Time, and never to have more appeared, than in the Rise and Constitutions of their present State. It does not seem to be so of the first, or that the People in general can be said now to be valiant: A Quality, of old, so national among them, and which, by the several Wars of the Counts of *Holland*, (especially with the *Frisons*), and by the desperate Defences made against the *Spaniards*, by this People, in the Beginnings of their State, should seem to have lasted long, and to have but lately decayed; that is, since the whole Application of

* *Queruntur (Fabii Valentis) legiones, barbari se ferissimorum virorum auxilio, veteres illos & tot bellorum viatores, non abruptendos, ut corpori, validissimos artus.* Tacit. Hist.

Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt. Ib.

of their Natives has been turned to Commerce and Trade, and the Vein of their domestick Lives so much to Parsimony, (by Circumstances which will be the Subject of another Chapter); and since the main of all their Forces, and Body of their Army, has been composed and continually supplied out of their Neighbour-nations.

For Soldiers and Merchants are not found, by Experience, to be more incompatible in their Abode, than the Dispositions and Customs seem to be different, that render a People fit for Trade and for War. The Soldier thinks of a short Life, and a merry; the Trader thinks upon a long, and a painful. One intends to make his Fortunes suddenly by his Courage, by Victory and Spoil; the other slower, but surer, by Craft, by Treaty, and by Industry. This makes the first frank and generous, and throw away upon his Pleasures, what has been gotten in one Danger, and may either be lost, or repaired, in the next; the other wary and frugal, and loth to part with in a Day, what he has been labouring for a Year, and has no hopes to recover, but by the same Paces of Diligence and Time. One aims only to preserve what he has, as the Fruit of his Father's Pains; or what he shall get, as the Fruit of his own: The other thinks the Price of a little Blood is more than of a great deal of Sweat; and means to live upon other Mens Labours, and possess in an Hour, what they have been Years in acquiring. This makes one love to live under stanch Orders and Laws; while the other would have all depend upon arbitrary Power and Will. The Trader reckons upon growing richer, and by his Account better, the longer he

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lives;

lives; which makes him careful of his Health and his Life, and so apt to be orderly and temperate in his Diet: while the Soldier is thoughtless, or prodigal of both; and, having not his Meat ready at Hours, or when he has a mind to it, eats full and greedily, whenever he gets it; and perhaps Difference of Diet may make greater Difference in Mens natural Courage, than is commonly thought of.

For Courage may proceed, in some measure, from the Temper of Air; may be formed by Discipline, and acquired by Use, or infused by Opinion: But that which is more natural, and so more national in some Countries than in others, seems to arise from the Heat or Strength of Spirits about the Heart; which may a great deal depend upon the Measure and the Substance of the Food Men are used to. This made a great Physician among us say, he would make any Man a Coward with six Weeks Dieting; and Prince *Maurice of Orange* call for the *English* that were newly come over, and had (as he said) their own Beef in their Bellics, for any bold and desperate Action. This may be one Reason, why the Gentry, in all Places of the World, are braver than the Peasantry, whose Hearts are depressed; not only by Slavery, but by short and heartless Food, the Effect of their Poverty. This is a Cause, why the Yeomanry and Commonalty of *England* are generally braver than in other Countries; because, by the Plenty and Constitutions of the Kingdom, they are so much easier in their Rents and their Taxes, and fare so much better and fuller, than those of their Rank in any other Nation; their chief, and indeed constant

stant Food, being of Flesh. And among all Creatures, both the Birds and the Beasts, we shall still find those that feed upon Flesh, to be the fierce and the bold; and, on the contrary, the fearful and faint-hearted to feed upon Grass and upon Plants. I think, there can be pretended but two Exceptions to this Rule, which are, the Cock and the Horse: Whereas the Courage of the one is noted no where but in *England*, and there only in certain Races: And for the other, all the Courage we commend in them, is, the want of Fear; and they are observed to grow much fiercer, whenever, by Custom, or Necessity, they have been used to Flesh.

From all this may be inferred, That not only the long Disuse of Arms among the native *Hollanders*, (especially at Land), and making use of other Nations, chiefly in their Milice; but the Arts of Trade as well as Peace, and their great Parsimony in Diet, and eating so very little Flesh, (which the common People seldom do above once a-week), may have helped to debase much the ancient Valour of the Nation, at least, in the Occasions of Service at Land. Their Seamen are much better; but not so good as those of *Zealand*, who are generally brave; which, I suppose, comes by these having upon all Occasions turned so much more to Privateering, and Men of War; and those of *Holland* being generally employed in Trading and Merchant-ships; while their Men of War are manned by Mariners of all Nations, who are very numerous among them, but especially those of the Eastland Coasts of *Germany*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*. 'Tis odd, that Veins of Courage should seem

to run like Veins of good Earth in a Country; and yet not only those of the Province of *Hainault* among the *Spanish*, and of *Gelderland* among the *United Provinces*, are esteemed better Soldiers than the rest; but the Burghers of *Valenciennes* among the Towns of *Flanders*, and of *Nimwegen* among those of the *Lower Gelder*, are observed to be particularly brave. But there may be Firmness and Constancy of Courage from Tradition, as well as of Belief: Nor, methinks, should any Man know how to be a Coward, that is brought up with the Opinion, that all his Nation or City have ever been valiant.

I can say nothing of what is usually laid to their Charge, about their being cruel, besides what we have so often heard of their barbarous Usage to some of our Men in the *East-Indies*, and what we have so lately seen of their savage Murder of their Pensioner *De Witt*; a Person that deserved another Fate, and a better Return from his Country, after eighteen Years spent in their Ministry, without any Care of his Entertainments or Ease, and a little of his Fortune; a Man of unwearied Industry, inflexible Constancy, sound, clear, and deep Understanding, with untainted Integrity; so that whenever he was blinded, it was by the Passion he had for that which he esteemed the Good and Interest of his State. This Testimony is justly due to him from all that practised him; and is the more willingly paid, since there can be as little Interest to flatter, as Honour to reproach the Dead. But this Action of that People may be attributed to the Misfortune of their Country; and is so unlike the Appearance of their Customs and Dispositions,

ons, living, as I saw them, under the Laws and Orders of a quiet and settled State; and one must confess Mankind to be a very various Creature, and none to be known, that has not been seen in his Rage, as well as his Drink.

They are generally not so long-lived, as in better Airs; and begin to decay early, both Men and Women; especially at *Amsterdam*: For, at the *Hague*, (which is their best Air), I have known two considerable Men, a good deal above seventy, and one of them in very good Sense and Health. But this is not so usual as it is in *England* and in *Spain*. The Diseases of the Climate seem to be chiefly the Gout and the Scurvy; but all hot and dry Summers bring some that are infectious among them, especially into *Amsterdam* and *Leyden*. These are usually Fevers, that lie most in the Head; and either kill suddenly, or languish long before they recover. Plagues are not so frequent, at least not in a Degree to be taken notice of; for all suppress the Talk of them as much as they can, and no Distinction is made in the Register of the Dead, nor much in the Care and Attendance of the Sick; whether from a Belief of Predestination, or else a Preference of Trade, which is the Life of the Country, before that of particular Men.

Strangers among them are apt to complain of the Spleen, but those of the Country seldom or never; which I take to proceed from their being ever busy, or easily satisfied. For this seems to be the Disease of People that are idle, or think themselves but ill entertained; and attribute every Fit of dull Humour or Imagination to a formal Disease, which they have found this Name for:

for: Whereas such Fits are incident to all Men, at one Time or other, from the Fumes of Indigestion, from the common Alterations of some insensible Degrees in Health and Vigour; * or from some Changes or Approaches of Change in Winds and Weather, which affect the finer Spirits of the Brain, before they grow sensible to other Parts; and are apt to alter the Shapes or Colours of whatever is represented to us by our Imaginations, whilst we are so affected. Yet this Effect is not so strong, but that Business, or Intention of Thought, commonly either resists or diverts it; and those who understand the Motions of it, let it pass, and return to themselves: But such as are idle, or know not from whence these Changes arise, and trouble their Heads with Notions, or Schemes of general Happiness or Unhappiness in Life, upon every such Fit, begin Reflexions on the Condition of their Bodies, their Souls, or their Fortunes; and (as all Things are then represented in the worst Colours) they fall into melancholy Apprehensions of one or other, and sometimes of them all. These make deep Impressions in their Minds, and are not easily worn out by the natural Returns of good Humour, especially if they are often interrupted by the contrary; as happens in some particular Constitutions, and more generally in un-
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* — *Ubi tempestas & cœli mobilis humor
Mutare vias, & Jupiter humidus Austris
Densat, erant quæ rara modo, & quæ densa relaxat;
Vertuntur species animorum, & pectora motus
Nunc alios, alios, dum nubila ventus agebat,
Concipiant. Hinc ille avium concentus in agris,
Et lætæ pecudes, & ovantes gutture corvi.*

Virg. Georg.

certain Climates, especially if improved by Accidents of ill Health or ill Fortune. But this is a Disease too refined for this Country and People; who are well when they are not ill, and pleased when they are not troubled; are content, because they think little of it; and seek their Happiness in the common Ease and Commodities of Life, or the Increase of Riches; not amusing themselves with the more speculative Contrivance of Passion, or Refinements of Pleasure.

To conclude this Chapter: *Holland* is a Country, where the Earth is better than the Air, and Profit more in Request than Honour; where there is more Sense than Wit; more good Nature than good Humour, and more Wealth than Pleasure; where a Man would chuse rather to travel than to live; shall find more Things to observe than desire; and more Persons to esteem than to love. But the same Qualities and Dispositions do not value a private Man and a State, nor make a Conversation agreeable, and a Government great: Nor is it unlikely, that some very great King might make but a very ordinary private Gentleman, and some very extraordinary Gentleman might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

C H A P. V.

Of the Religion of the United Provinces.

I Intend not here to speak of Religion at all as a Divine, but as a mere secular Man, when I observe the Occasions that seem to have established it in the Forms, or with the Liberties, wherewith it is now attended in the *United Provinces*. I believe the Reformed Religion was introduced there, as well as in *England*, and the many other Countries where it is professed, by the Operation of divine Will and Providence; and, by the same, I believe the *Roman Catholick* was continued in *France*; where it seemed, by the conspiring of so many Accidents in the Beginning of *Charles IX.*'s Reign, to be so near a Change. And whoever doubts this, seems to question not only the Will, but the Power of God. Nor will it at all derogate from the Honour of a Religion, to have been planted in a Country by secular Means or Civil Revolutions; which have long since succeeded to those miraculous Operations that made way for Christianity in the World. It is enough that God Almighty infuses Belief into the Hearts of Men, or else ordains it to grow out of religious Inquiries and Instructions; and that, where-ever the Generality of a Nation come by these Means to be of a Belief, it is by the Force of this Concurrence introduced into the Government, and becomes the established Religion of that Country. So was the Reformed Profession introduced into *England*,
Scotland,

Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and many Parts of Germany: So was the *Roman Catholic* restored in *France* and in *Flanders*: where, notwithstanding the great Concussions that were made in the Government by the *Hugonots* and the *Gueses*, yet they were never esteemed in either of those Countries to amount further than the seventh or eighth Part of the People. And whosoever designs the Change of Religion in a Country or Government, by any other Means than that of a general Conversion of the People, or the greatest Part of them, designs all the Mischiefs to a Nation that use to usher in or attend the two greatest Distempers of a State, Civil War, or Tyranny; which are Violence, Oppression, Cruelty, Rapine, Intemperance, Injustice, and, in short, the miserable Effusion of human Blood, and the Confusion of all Laws, Orders and Virtues among Men.

Such Consequences as these, I doubt, are something more than the disputed Opinions of any Man, or any particular Assembly of Men, can be worth; since the great and general End of all Religion, next to Mens Happiness hereafter, is their Happiness here; as appears by the Commandments of God, being the best and greatest Moral and Civil, as well as Divine Precepts, that have been given to a Nation; and by the Rewards proposed to the Piety of the *Jews* throughout the Old Testament; which were the Blessings of this Life, as Health, Length of Age, Number of Children, Plenty, Peace, or Victory.

Now, the Way to our future Happiness has been perpetually disputed throughout the World,
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and must be left at last to the Impressions made upon every Man's Belief and Conscience, either by natural or supernatural Arguments and Means; which Impressions Men may disguise or dissemble, but no Man can resist. For Belief is no more in a Man's Power, than his Stature or his Feature; and he that tells me, I must change my Opinion for his, because it is the truer and the better, without other Arguments, that have to me the Force of Conviction, may as well tell me, I must change my grey Eyes, for others like his that are black, because these are lovelier, or more in Esteem. He that tells me, I must inform myself, has Reason, if I do it not: But if I endeavour it all that I can, and perhaps more than he ever did, and yet still differ from him; and he, that, it may be, is idle, will have me study on, and inform myself better, and so to the End of my Life; then I easily understand what he means by informing; which is, in short, that I must do it till I come to be of his Opinion.

If he that perhaps pursues his Pleasures or Interests as much or more than I do, and allows me to have as good Sense as he has in all other Matters, tells me, I should be of his Opinion, but that Passion or Interest blinds me; unless he can convince me how or where this lies, he is but where he was; only pretends to know me better than I do myself, who cannot imagine why I should not have as much Care of my Soul as he has of his.

A Man that tells me, my Opinions are absurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreasonable, because they differ from his, seems to intend a Quarrel instead of a Dispute; and calls me Fool,
or

or Madman, with a little more Circumstance; though perhaps I pass for one as well in my Senses as he, as pertinent in Talk, and as prudent in Life. Yet these are the common Civilities, in religious Argument, of sufficient and conceited Men, who talk much of right Reason, and mean always their own; and make their private Imagination the Measure of general Truth. But such Language determines all between us; and the Dispute comes to end in three Words at last, which it might as well have ended in at first, That he is in the right, and I am in the wrong.

The other great End of Religion, which is our Happiness here, has been generally agreed on by all Mankind; as appears in the Records of all their Laws, as well as all their Religions, which come to be established by the Concurrence of Mens Customs and Opinions*; though, in the latter, that Concurrence may have been produced by divine Impressions or Inspirations. For all agree in teaching and commanding, in planting and improving, not only those moral Virtues which conduce to the Felicity and Tranquillity of every private Man's Life; but also those Manners and Dispositions that tend to the Peace, Order, and Safety of all Civil Societies and Governments among Men. Nor could I ever understand, how those who call themselves, and the World usually calls, *religious Men*, come to put so great Weight upon those Points of Belief which Men never have agreed in, and so little upon those of Virtue and Morality, in which they have hardly ever disagreed; nor why a State

Mediocris quædam should

* *Fiunt diversæ respublicæ ex civium moribus, qui, quæcunque fluxerint, cætera secum rapiunt. Plato de Rep.*

should venture the Subversion of their Peace, and their Order, which are certain Goods, and so universally esteemed, for the Propagation of uncertain or contested Opinions.

One of the great Causes of the first Revolt in the *Low Countries* appeared to be, the Oppression of Mens Consciences, or Persecution in their Liberties, their Estates and their Lives, upon Pretence of Religion; and this at a Time when there seemed to be a conspiring Disposition in most Countries of Christendom to seek the Reformation of some Abuses, grown in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, either by the Rust of Time, by Negligence, or by human Inventions, Passions and Interests. The rigid Opposition given at *Rome* to this general Humour, was followed by a Defection of mighty Numbers in all those several Countries, who professed to reform themselves, according to such Rules as they thought were necessary for the Reformation of the Church. These Persons, though they agreed in the main of disowning the Papal Power, and reducing Belief from the Authority of Tradition to that of the Scripture; yet they differed much among themselves in other Circumstances, especially of Discipline, according to the Persuasions and Impressions of the leading Doctors in their several Countries. So the Reformed of *France* became universally *Calvinists*: But for those of *Germany*, though they were generally *Lutherans*, yet there was a great Mixture both of *Calvinists* and *Anabaptists* among them.

The first Persecutions of these Reformed arose in *Germany*, in the Time of *Charles V.* and drove great Numbers of them down into the Seventeen

venteen Provinces, especially *Holland* and *Brabant*; where the Privileges of the Cities were greater, and the Emperor's Government was less severe, as among the Subjects of his own native Countries. This was the Occasion, that in the Year 1566, when, upon the first Insurrection in *Flanders*, those of the Reformed Profession began to form Consistories, and levy Contributions among themselves, for Support of their common Cause; it was resolved, upon Consultation, among the Heads of them, that, for declining all Differences among themselves, at a Time of common Exigence, the publick Profession of their Party should be that of the *Lutherans*, though with Liberty and Indulgence to those of different Opinions. By the Union of *Utrecht*, concluded in 1579, each of the Provinces was left to order the Matter of Religion, as they thought fit and most conducing to the Welfare of their Province; with this Provision, That every Man should remain free in his Religion, and none be examined or intrapped for that Cause, according to the Pacification at *Ghent*. But, in the Year 1583, it was enacted by general Agreement, That the Evangelical Religion should be only professed in all the Seven Provinces; which came thereby to be the established Religion of this State.

The Reasons which seemed to induce them to this Settlement, were many, and of Weight: As, first, because, by the Persecutions arrived in *France*, (where all the Reformed were *Calvinists*), Multitudes of People had retired out of that Kingdom into the *Low Countries*: And, by the great Commerce and continual Intercourse

with *England*, where the Reformation agreed much with the *Calvinists* in point of Doctrine, though more with the *Lutherans* in point of Discipline, those Opinions came to be credited and propagated more than any other, among the People of these Provinces; so as the Numbers were grown to be greater far in the Cities of this than of any other Profession. Secondly, The Succours and Supplies both of Men and Money, by which the weak Beginnings of this Commonwealth were preserved and fortified, came chiefly from *England*, from the Protestants of *France*, (when their Affairs were successful), and from the *Calvinist* Princes of *Germany*, who lay nearest, and were readiest to relieve them. In the next place, because those of this Profession seemed the most contrary and violent against the *Spaniards*, who made themselves Heads of the *Roman Catholics* throughout Christendom; and the Hatred of *Spain*, and their Dominion, was so rooted in the Hearts of this People, that it had Influence upon them in the very Choice of their Religion. And, lastly, because, by this Profession, all Rights and Jurisdiction of the Clergy or Hierarchy being suppressed, there was no Ecclesiastical Authority left to rise up and trouble or fetter the Civil Power; and all the Goods and Possessions of Churches and Abbies were seized wholly into the Hands of the State; which made a great Increase of the publick Revenue, a Thing the most necessary for the Support of their Government.

There might perhaps be added one Reason more, which was particular to one of the Provinces:

vinces: For whereas, in most, if not all other Parts of Christendom, the Clergy composed one of the three Estates of the Country, and thereby shared with the Nobles and Commons in their Influences upon the Government, that Order never made any Part of the Estates in *Holland*, nor had any Vote in their Assembly, which consisted only of the Nobles and the Cities; and this Province, bearing always the greatest Sway in the Councils of the Union, was most inclined to the Settlement of that Profession which gave least Pretence of Power or Jurisdiction to the Clergy, and so agreed most with their own ancient Constitutions.

Since this Establishment, as well as before, the great Care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious Inquisition into the Faith or religious Principles of any peaceable Man, who came to live under the Protection of their Laws; and to suffer no Violence or Oppression upon any Man's Conscience, whose Opinions broke not out into Expressions or Actions of ill Consequence to the State: A free Form of Government either making way for more Freedom in Religion, or else having newly contended so far themselves for Liberty in this Point, they thought it the more unreasonable for them to oppress others. Perhaps, while they were so threatened and endangered by foreign Armies, they thought it the more necessary to provide against Discontents within; which can never be dangerous, where they are not grounded or fattered upon Oppression in point either of Religion or Liberty. But, in those two Cases, the Flame often proves most violent in a State, the

more it is shut up, or the longer concealed. The *Roman Catholick* Religion was alone excepted from the common Protection of their Laws; making Men (as the States believed) worse Subjects than the rest, by the Acknowledgment of a foreign and superior Jurisdiction: For so must all spiritual Power needs be, as grounded upon greater Hopes and Fears than any Civil, at least where ever the Persuasions from Faith are as strong as those from Sense; of which there are so many Testimonies recorded by the Martyrdoms, Penances, or conscientious Restraints and Severities, suffered by infinite Persons in all sorts of Religions.

Besides, this Profession seemed still a Retainer of the *Spanish* Government, which was then the great Patron of it in the World. Yet such was the Care of this State to give all Men Ease in this Point, who ask no more than to serve God, and save their own Souls, in their own Way and Forms, that what was not provided for by the Constitutions of their Government, was so, in a very great Degree, by the Connivance of their Officers; who, upon certain constant Payments from every Family, suffer the Exercise of the *Roman Catholick* Religion in their several Jurisdictions, as free and easy, though not so cheap and so avowed, as the rest. This, I suppose, has been the Reason, that though those of this Profession are very numerous in the Country, among the Peasants, and considerable in the Cities, and not admitted to any publick Charges; yet they seem to be a sound Piece of the State, and fast jointed in with the rest; and have neither given any Disturbance to the Government, nor expressed any Inclinations

Inclinations to a Change, or to any foreign Power, either upon the former Wars with *Spain*, or the later Invasions of the Bishop of *Munster*.

Of all other Religions every Man enjoys the free Exercise, in his own Chamber, or his own House, unquestioned and unespied. And if the Followers of any Sect grow so numerous in any Place, that they affect a publick Congregation, and are content to purchase a Place of Assembly, to bear the Charge of a Pastor or Teacher, and to pay for this Liberty to the Publick; they go and propose their Desire to the Magistrates of the Place where they reside, who inform themselves of their Opinions, and Manners of Worship; and if they find nothing in either destructive to Civil Society, or prejudicial to the Constitutions of their State, and content themselves with the Price that is offered for the Purchase of this Liberty, they easily allow it; but with the Condition, That one or more Commissioners shall be appointed, who shall have free Admission at all their Meetings; shall be both the Observers and Witnesses of all that is acted or preached among them, and whose Testimony shall be received concerning any thing that passes there to the Prejudice of the State: In which Case, the Laws and Executions are as severe as against any Civil Crimes.

Thus the *Jews* have their allowed Synagogues in *Amsterdam* and *Roterdam*. And in the first almost all Sects that are known among Christians, have their publick Meeting-places; and some whose Names are almost worn out in all other Parts, as the *Brownists*, *Familists*, and others. The *Arminians*, though they make a great Name among

among them, by being rather the Distinction of a Party in the State, than a Sect in the Church; yet are, in comparison of others, but few in Number, though considerable by the Persons, who are of the better Quality, the more learned and intelligent Men, and many of them in the Government. The *Anabaptists* are just the contrary; very numerous, but in the lower Ranks of People, Mechanicks and Seamen, and abound chiefly in *North-Holland*.

The *Calvinists* make the Body of the People, and are possessed of all the publick Churches in the Dominions of the State, as well as of the only Ministers or Pastors, who are maintained by the Publick. But these have neither Lands nor Tithes, nor any authorised Contributions from the People, but certain Salaries from the State, upon whom they wholly depend. And though they are often very bold in taxing and preaching publicly against the Vices, and sometimes the innocent Entertainments, of Persons most considerable in the Government, as well as of the Vulgar; yet they are never heard to censure or controul the publick Actions or Resolutions of the State. They are, in general, throughout the Country, passionate Friends to the Interests of the House of *Orange*; and, during the Intermision of that Authority, found Ways of expressing their Affections to the Person and Fortunes of this Prince, without offending the State, as it was then constituted. They are fierce Enemies of the *Arminian* Party; whose Principles were thought to lead them, in *Barneveldt's* Time, towards a Conjunction, or at least Compliance, with the *Spanish* Religion and Government; both

which

which the House of *Orange*, in the whole Course of the War, endeavoured to make irreconcilable with those of the State.

It is hardly to be imagined, how all the Violence and Sharpness which accompanies the Differences of Religion in other Countries, seems to be appeased or softened here, by the general Freedom which all Men enjoy, either by Allowance or Connivance; nor how Faction and Ambition are thereby disabled to colour their interested and seditious Designs with the Pretences of Religion, which has cost the Christian World so much Blood for these last hundred and fifty Years. No Man can here complain of Pressure in his Conscience; of being forced to any publick Profession of his private Faith; of being restrained from his own Manner of Worship in his House, or obliged to any other abroad. And whoever asks more in point of Religion, without the undisputed Evidence of a particular Mission from Heaven, may be justly suspected, not to ask for God's sake, but for his own; since, pretending to Sovereignty instead of Liberty in Opinion, is indeed pretending the same in Authority too, which consists chiefly in Opinion. And what Man or Party soever can gain the common and firm Belief, of being most immediately inspired, instructed, or favoured of God, will easily obtain the Prerogative of being most honoured and obeyed by Men.

But, in this Commonwealth, no Man having any Reason to complain of Oppression in Conscience, and no Man having Hopes, by advancing his Religion, to form a Party, or break in upon the State, the Differences in Opinion make
none

none in Affections, and little in Conversation, where it serves but for Entertainment and Variety. They argue without Interest or Anger; they differ without Enmity or Scorn; and they agree without Confederacy. Men live together, like Citizens of the World, associated by the common Ties of Humanity, and by the Bonds of Peace, under the impartial Protection of indifferent Laws, with equal Encouragement of all Art and Industry, and equal Freedom of Speculation and Inquiry; all Men enjoying their Imaginary Excellencies and Acquisitions of Knowledge, with as much Safety as their more real Possessions and Improvements of Fortune. The Power of Religion among them, where it is, lies in every Man's Heart. The Appearance of it is but like a Piece of Humanity, by which every one falls most into the Company or Conversation of those, whose Customs and Humours, whose Talk and Dispositions, he likes best: And as, in other Places, it is in every Man's Choice with whom he will eat or lodge, with whom go to Market or to Court; so it seems to be here, with whom he will pray, or go to Church, or associate in the Service and Worship of God. Nor is any more Notice taken, or more Censure passed, of what every one chuses in these Cases, than in the other.

I believe the Force of Commerce, Alliances, and Acquaintances, spreading so far as they do in small Circuits, (such as the Province of *Holland*), may contribute much to make Conversation, and all the Offices of common Life, so easy, among so different Opinions, of which so many several Persons are often in every Man's Eye;

Eye; and no Man checks or takes Offence at Faces, or Customs, or Ceremonies, he sees every Day, as at those he hears of in Places far distant, and perhaps by partial Relations, and comes to see late in his Life, and after he has long been possessed by Passion or Prejudice against them. However it is, Religion may possibly do more Good in other Places, but it does less Hurt here: And where-ever the invisible Effects of it are the greatest and most advantageous, I am sure the visible are so in this Country, by the continual and undisturbed civil Peace of their Government for so long a Course of Years; and by so mighty an Increase of their People, wherein will appear to consist chiefly the vast Growth of their Trade and Riches, and consequently the Strength and Greatness of their State,

C H A P. VI.

Of the Trade of the United Provinces.

IT is evident to those who have read the most, and travelled farthest, that no Country can be found either in this present Age, or upon Record of any Story; where so vast a Trade has been managed, as in the narrow Compass of the four Maritime Provinces of this Commonwealth: Nay, it is generally esteemed, that they have more Shipping belongs to them, than there does to all the rest of *Europe*. Yet they have no native Commodities towards the Building or Rigging of the smallest Vessel; their Flax, Hemp, Pitch,

Pitch, Wood, and Iron, coming all from abroad, as Wool does for clothing their Men, and Corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own Growth that is considerable either for their own necessary Use, or for Traffick with their Neighbours, besides Butter, Cheefe, and earthen Wares. For Havens, they have not any good upon their whole Coast. The best are, *Helversluys*, which has no Trade at all; and *Flussingue*, which has little, in comparison of other Towns in *Holland*: But *Amsterdam*, that triumphs in the Spoils of *Lisbon* and *Antwerp*, (which before ingrossed the greatest Trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*), seems to be the most incommodious Haven they have, being seated upon so shallow Waters, that ordinary Ships cannot come up to it without the Advantage of Tides; nor great ones without unloading. The Entrance of the *Tessel*, and Passage over the *Zudder Sea*, is more dangerous than a Voyage from thence to *Spain*, lying all in blind and narrow Channels. So that it easily appears, that it is not an Haven that draws Trade, but Trade that fills an Haven, and brings it in vogue. Nor has *Holland* grown rich by any native Commodities, but by Force of Industry; by Improvement and Manufacture of all foreign Growths; by being the general Magazine of *Europe*, and furnishing all Parts with whatever the Market wants or invites; and by their Seamen being, as they have properly been called, the common Carriers of the World.

Since the Ground of Trade cannot be deduced from Havens, or native Commodities, (as may well be concluded from the Survey of *Holland*,



land, which has the least and the worst, and of *Ireland*, which has the most and the best, of both), it were not amiss to consider from what other Source it may be more naturally and certainly derived: For, if we talk of Industry, we are still as much to seek, what it is that makes People industrious in one Country, and idle in another. I conceive the true Original and Ground of Trade to be, great Multitudes of People crowded into small Compass of Land, whereby all Things necessary to Life become dear, and all Men who have Possessions, are induced to Parsimony; but those who have none, are forced to Industry and Labour, or else to want. Bodies that are vigorous, fall to Labour; such as are not, supply that Defect by some sort of Inventions or Ingenuity. These Customs arise first from Necessity, but increase by Imitation, and grow in time to be habitual in a Country; and where-ever they are so, if it lies upon the Sea, they naturally break out into Trade; both because, whatever they want of their own, that is necessary to so many Mens Lives, must be supplied from abroad; and because, by the Multitude of People, and Smalness of Country, Land grows so dear, that the Improvement of Money that way is inconsiderable, and so turns to Sea, where the Greatness of the Profit makes amends for the Venture.

This cannot be better illustrated, than by its contrary; which appears no where more than in *Ireland*; where, by the Largeness and Plenty of the Food, and Scarcity of People, all Things necessary to Life are so cheap, that an industrious Man, by two Days Labour, may gain e-

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nough to feed him the rest of the Week; which I take to be a very plain Ground of the Laziness attributed to the People: For Men naturally prefer Ease before Labour, and will not take Pains, if they can live idle; though, when by Necessity they have been inured to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a Custom necessary to their Health, and to their very Entertainment. Nor perhaps is the Change harder from constant Ease to Labour, than from constant Labour to Ease.

This Account of the Original of Trade agrees with the Experience of all Ages, and with the Constitutions of all Places, where it has most flourished in the World, as *Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Rhodes, Venice, Holland*; and will be so obvious to every Man that knows and considers the Situation, the Extent, and the Nature, of all those Countries, that it will need no Enlargement upon the Comparisons.

By these Examples, which are all of Commonwealths, and by the Decay or Dissolution of Trade in the six first, when they came to be conquered, or subjected to arbitrary Dominions, it might be concluded, that there is something in that Form of Government proper and natural to Trade, in a more peculiar Manner. But the Height it arrived to at *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, under their Princes, for four or five Descents of the House of *Burgundy*, and two of *Austria*, shews it may thrive under good Princes and legal Monarchies, as well as under free States. Under arbitrary and tyrannical Power, it must of necessity decay and dissolve; because this empties a Country

Country of People, whereas the others fill it. This extinguishes Industry, whilst Men are in doubt of enjoying themselves what they get, or leaving it to their Children; the others encourage it, by securing Men of both. One fills a Country with Soldiers, and the other with Merchants; who were never yet known to live well together, because they cannot trust one another: And as Trade cannot live without mutual Trust among private Men; so it cannot grow or thrive, to any great Degree, without a Confidence both of publick and private Safety, and consequently a Trust in the Government, from an Opinion of its Strength, Wisdom, and Justice; which must be grounded either upon the personal Virtues and Qualities of a Prince, or else upon the Constitutions and Orders of a State.

It appears to every Man's Eye who hath travelled *Holland*, and observed the Number and Vicinity of their great and populous Towns and Villages, with the prodigious Improvement of almost every Spot of Ground in the Country, and the great Multitudes constantly employed in their Shipping abroad, and their Boats at home, that no other known Country in the World, of the same Extent, holds any Proportion with this in Numbers of People; and, if that be the great Foundation of Trade, the best Account that can be given of theirs, will be, by considering the Causes and Accidents that have served to force or invite so vast a Confluence of People into their Country. In the first Rank may be placed, the civil Wars, Calamities, Persecutions, Oppressions, or Discontents, that have been so fatal to

most of their Neighbours, for some time before, as well as since their State began.

The Persecutions for Matter of Religion, in *Germany* under *Charles V.* in *France* under *Henry II.* and in *England* under *Queen Mary*, forced great Numbers of People out of all those Countries, to shelter themselves in the several Towns of the Seventeen Provinces, where the ancient Liberties of the Country, and Privileges of the Cities, had been inviolate under so long a Succession of Princes; and gave Protection to these oppressed Strangers, who filled their Cities both with People and Trade, and raised *Antwerp* to such an Height and Renown, as continued till the Duke of *Alva's* Arrival in the *Low Countries*. The Fright of this Man, and the Orders he brought, and Armies to execute them, began to scatter the Flock of People that for some time had been nested there; so as, in very few Months, above a hundred thousand Families removed out of the Country. But, when the Seven Provinces united, and began to defend themselves with Success, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Countenance of *England* and *France*, and the Persecutions for Religion began to grow sharp in the *Spanish* Provinces, all the Professors of the Reformed Religion, and Haters of the *Spanish* Dominion, retired into the strong Cities of this Commonwealth; and gave the same Date to the Growth of Trade there, and the Decay of it at *Antwerp*.

The long civil Wars, at first of *France*, then of *Germany*, and lastly of *England*, served to increase the Swarm in this Country, not only by such as were persecuted at home, but great Numbers

Numbers of peaceable Men, who came here to seek for Quiet in their Lives, and Safety in their Possessions, or Trades; like those Birds that, upon the Approach of a rough Winter-season, leave the Countries where they were born and bred, fly away to some kinder and softer Climate, and never return till the Frosts are past, and the Winds are laid at home.

The Invitation these People had, to fix rather in *Holland* than in many better Countries, seems to have been, at first, the great Strength of their Towns; which, by their maritime Situation, and the low Flatness of their Country, can with their Sluices overflow all the Ground about them at such Distances, as to become inaccessible to any Land-forces. And this natural Strength has been improved, especially at *Amsterdam*, by all the Art and Expence that could any ways contribute towards the Defence of the Place.

Next was the Constitution of their Government; by which, neither the States-General, nor the Prince, have any Power to invade any Man's Person or Property within the Precincts of their Cities. Nor could it be feared that the Senate of any Town should conspire to any such Violence; nor, if they did, could they possibly execute it, having no Soldiers in their Pay, and the Burghers only being employed in the Defence of their Towns, and Execution of all Civil Justice among them.

These Circumstances gave so great a Credit to the Bank of *Amsterdam*; and that was another Invitation for People to come, and lodge here what part of their Money they could transport, and knew no way of securing at home. Nor

did those People only lodge Monies here, who came over into the Country; but many more, who never left their own, though they provided for a Retreat, or against a Storm, and thought no Place so secure as this, nor from whence they might so easily draw their Money into any Parts of the World.

Another Circumstance was, the general Liberty and Ease, not only in Point of Conscience, but all others that serve to the Commodiousness and Quiet of Life; every Man following his own Way, minding his own Business, and little inquiring into other Mens; which, I suppose, happened by so great a Concourse of People of several Nations, different Religions and Customs, as left nothing strange or new; and, by the general Humour, bent all upon Industry, whereas Curiosity is only proper to idle Men.

Besides, it has ever been the great Principle of their State, running through all their Provinces and Cities, even with Emulation, to make their Country the common Refuge of all miserable Men; from whose Protection hardly any Alliance, Treaties, or Interests, have ever been able to divert or remove them: So as, during the great Dependence this State had upon *France*, in the Time of *Henry IV.* all the Persons disgraced at that Court, or banished that Country, made this their common Retreat. Nor could the State ever be prevailed with, by any Instances of the *French* Ambassadors, to refuse them the Use and Liberty of common Life and Air, under the Protection of their Government.

This Firmness in the State has been one of the Circumstances that has invited so many unhappy

happy Men out of all their Neighbourhood, and indeed from most Parts of *Europe*, to shelter themselves from the Blows of Justice, or of Fortune. Nor indeed does any Country seem so proper to be made use of on such Occasions, not only in respect of Safety, but as a Place that holds so constant and easy Correspondencies with all Parts of the World, and whither any Man may draw whatever Money he has at his Disposal in any other Place; where neither Riches expose Men to Danger, nor Poverty to Contempt; but, on the contrary, where Parsimony is honourable, whether it be necessary or no; and he that is forced by his Fortune to live low, may here alone live in Fashion, and upon equal Terms (in Appearance abroad) with the chiefest of their Ministers, and richest of their Merchants. Nor is it easily imagined, how great an Effect this Constitution among them may, in Course of Time, have had upon the Increase both of their People and their Trade.

As the two first Invitations of People into this Country, were the Strength of their Towns, and Nature of their Government; so two others have grown with the Course of Time, and Progress of their Riches and Power. One is, the Reputation of their Government, arising from the Observation of the Success of their Arms, the Prudence of their Negotiations, the Steadiness of their Counsels, the Constancy of their Peace and Quiet at home, and the Consideration they hereby arrived at among the Princes and States of Christendom. From all these, Men grew to a general Opinion of the Wisdom and Conduct of their State, and of its being established upon Foundations.

Foundations that could not be shaken by any common Accidents, nor, consequently, in Danger of any great or sudden Revolutions. And this is a mighty Inducement to industrious People, to come and inhabit a Country, who seek not only Safety, under Laws, from Injustice and Oppression, but likewise, under the Strength and good Conduct of a State, from the Violence of foreign Invasions, or of civil Commotions.

The other is, the great Beauty of their Country, (forced in Time, and by the Improvements of Industry, in spite of Nature), which draws every Day such Numbers of curious and idle Persons to see their Provinces, though not to inhabit them. And indeed their Country is a much better Mistress than a Wife; and where few Persons who are well at home, would be content to live; but where none that have Time and Money to spare, would not for once be willing to travel. And as *England* shews, in the Beauty of the Country, what Nature can arrive at; so does *Holland*, in the Number, Greatness, and Beauty of their Towns, whatever Art can bring to pass. But these and many other Matters of Speculation among them, filling the Observations of all common Travellers, shall make no Part of mine; whose Design is rather to discover the Causes of their Trade and Riches, than to relate the Effects.

Yet it may be noted hereupon, as a Piece of Wisdom in any Kingdom or State, by the Magnificence of Courts, or of publick Structures; by encouraging Beauty in private Buildings, and the Adornment of Towns with pleasant and regular Plantations of Trees; by the Celebration of some noble Festivals or Solemnities; by the
Institution

Institution of some great Marts or Fairs; and by the Contrivance of any extraordinary and renowned Spectacles, to invite and occasion, as much and as often as can be, the Concourse of busy or idle People from the neighbouring or remoter Nations, whose very Passage and Intercourse is a great Increase of Wealth and of Trade, and a secret Incentive of People to inhabit a Country, where Men may meet with equal Advantages, and more Entertainments of Life, than in other Places. Such were the *Olympick* and other Games among the *Grecians*; such the Triumphs, Trophies, and secular Plays of old *Rome*, as well as the Spectacles exhibited afterwards by the Emperors, with such stupendous Effects of Art and Expence, for courting or entertaining the People; such the Jubilees of new *Rome*, the Jufts and Tournaments formerly used in most of the Courts of Christendom, the Festivals of the more celebrated Orders of Knighthood; and, in particular Towns, the Carnivals and Fairs, the Kirmishes, which run through all the Cities of the *Netherlands*; and in some of them, with a great deal of Pageantry, as well as Traffick, being equal Baits of Pleasure and of Gain.

Having thus discovered what has laid the great Foundations of their Trade, by the Multitude of their People, which has planted and habituated Industry among them, and, by that, all sorts of Manufacture, as well as Parsimony, and thereby general Wealth; I shall enumerate very briefly some other Circumstances, that seem, next to these, the chief Advancers and Encouragers of Trade in their Country.

Low

Low Interest, and Dearness of Land, are Effects of the Multitude of People, and cause so much Money to lie ready for all Projects, by which Gain may be expected; as the cutting of Canals, making Bridges and Causeys, levelling Downs, and draining Marshes, besides all new Essays at foreign Trade, which are proposed with any Probability of Advantage.

The Use of their Banks, which secures Money, and makes all Payments easy, and Trade quick.

The Sale by Registry, which was introduced here and in *Flanders* in the Time of *Charles V.* and makes all Purchases safe.

The Severity of Justice, not only against all Thefts, but all Cheats and Counterfeits of any publick Bills, (which is capital among them); and even against all common Beggars, who are disposed of, either into Work-houses, or Hospitals, as they are able or unable to labour.

The Convoys of Merchant-fleets into all Parts, even in Time of Peace, but especially into the *Streights*; which give their Trade Security against many unexpected Accidents, and their Nation Credit abroad, and breeds up Seamen for their Ships of War.

The Lowness of their Customs, and Easiness of paying them, which, with the Freedom of their Ports, invite both Strangers and Natives to bring Commodities hither, not only as to a Market, but as to a Magazine; where they lodge till they are invited abroad to other and better Markets.

Order and Exactness in managing their Trade, which brings their Commodities in Credit abroad.

broad. This was first introduced by severe Laws and Penalties, but is since grown into Custom. Thus there have been above thirty several Placarts about the Manner of curing, pickling, and barrelling Herrings. Thus all Arms made at *Utrecht* are forfeited, if sold without Mark, or marked without Trial. And I observed in their *Indian House*, that all the Pieces of Scarlet, which are sent in great Quantities to those Parts, are marked with the *English Arms*, and Inscriptions in *English*; by which they maintain the Credit gained to that Commodity, by our former Trade to Parts where it is now lost or decayed.

The Government managed either by Men that trade, or whose Families have risen by it, or who have themselves some Interest going in other Mens Traffick, or who are born and bred in Towns, the Soul and Being whereof consists wholly in Trade, which makes sure of all Favour, that from Time to Time grows necessary, and can be given it by the Government.

The Custom of every Town's affecting some particular Commerce or Staple, valuing itself thereupon, and so improving it to the greatest Height; as *Flussingue*, by that of the *West-Indies*; *Middleburg*, of *French Wines*; *Terveer*, by the *Scots Staple*; *Dort*, by the *English Staple* and *Rhenish Wines*; *Rotterdam*, by the *English* and *Scots Trade* at large, and by *French Wines*; *Leyden*, by the Manufacture of all sorts of Stuffs, Silk, Hair, Gold and Silver; *Haerlem*, by Linen, mixed Stuffs and Flowers; *Delf*, by Beer and *Dutch Porcelane*; *Surdam*, by the Built of Ships; *Enchusyen* and *Mazlandshuyt*, by Herring-fishing;

fishing; *Friezland*, by the *Greenland Trade*; and *Amsterdam*, by that of the *East-Indies*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*.

The great Application of the whole Province to the Fishing-trade, upon the Coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, which employs an incredible Number of Ships and Seamen, and supplies most of the Southern Parts of *Europe* with a rich and necessary Commodity.

The last I shall mention is, the mighty Advance they have made towards ingrossing the whole Commerce of the *East-Indies*, by their Successes against the *Portugueses*, and by their many Wars and Victories against the Natives; whereby they have forced them to Treaties of Commerce, exclusive to all other Nations, and to the Admission of Forts to be built upon Streights and Passes that command the Entrances into the Traffick of such Places. This has been atchieved, by the Multitude of their People and Mariners, that has been able to furnish every Year so many great Ships for such Voyages, and to supply the Loss of so many Lives, as the Changes of Climate have cost, before they learned the Method of living in them; by the Vastness of the Stock that has been turned wholly to that Trade; and by the Conduct and Application of the *East-India Company*, who have managed it like a Commonwealth, rather than a Trade; and thereby raised a State in the *Indies*, governed indeed by the Orders of the Company, but otherwise appearing to those Nations like a sovereign State; making War and Peace with their greatest Kings, and able to bring to Sea forty or fifty Men of War, and thirty thousand Men

Men at Land, by the modestest Computations. The Stock of this Trade, besides what it turns to in *France, Spain, Italy, the Streights, and Germany*, makes them so great Masters in the Trade of the Northern Parts of *Europe*; as *Muscovy, Poland, Pomerania*, and all the *Baltick*; where the Spices, that are an *Indian Drug*, and *European Luxury*, command all the Commodities of those Countries; which are so necessary to Life, as their Corn; and to Navigation, as Hemp, Pitch, Masts, Planks, and Iron.

Thus the Trade of this Country is discovered to be no Effect of common Contrivances, of natural Dispositions or Situation, or of trivial Accidents; but of a great Concurrence of Circumstances, a long Course of Time, Force of Orders and Method, which never before met in the World to such a Degree, or with so prodigious a Success, and perhaps never will again: having grown, (to sum up all), from the Situation of their Country, extended upon the Sea, divided by two such Rivers as the *Rhine* and the *Maes*, with the Vicinity of the *Ems, Weser, and Elbe*; from the Confluence of People out of *Flanders, England, France, and Germany*; invited by the Strength of their Towns, and by the Constitutions and Credit of their Government; by the Liberty of Conscience, and Security of Life and Goods, (subjected only to constant Laws); from general Industry and Parsimony, occasioned by the Multitude of People, and Smalness of Country; from Cheapness and easiness of Carriage by Convenience of Canals; from low Use, and Dearness of Land, which turn Money to Trade; the Institution of Banks,

Sale by Registry, Care of Convoys, Smalness of Customs, Freedom of Ports, Order in Trade, Interest of Persons in the Government, particular Traffick affected to particular Places, Application to the Fishery, and Acquisitions in the *East-Indies*.

It is no constant Rule, That Trade makes Riches; for there may be a Trade that impoverishes a Nation: As it is not going often to Market that enriches the Countryman; but, on the contrary, if every time he comes there he buys to a greater Value than he sells, he grows the poorer the oftener he goes. But the only and certain Scale of Riches, arising from Trade in a Nation, is, the Proportion of what is exported for the Consumption of others, to what is imported for their own.

The true Ground of this Proportion lies in the general Industry and Parsimony of a People, or in the contrary of both. Industry increases the native Commodity, either in the Product of the Soil, or the Manufactures of the Country; which raises the Stock for Exportation. Parsimony lessens the Consumption of their own, as well as of foreign Commodities; and not only abates the Importation by the last, but increases the Exportation by the first: For, of all native Commodities, the less is consumed in a Country, the more is exported abroad; there being no Commodity, but at one Price or other will find a Market, which they will be Masters of, who can afford it cheapest. Such are always the most industrious and parsimonious People, who can thrive by Prices upon which the Lazy and Expensive cannot live.

The

The vulgar Mistake, That Importation of foreign Wares, if purchased abroad with native Commodities, and not with Money, does not make a Nation poorer, is but what every Man that gives himself Leisure to think, must immediately rectify; by finding out, that, upon the End of an Account between a Nation, and all they deal with abroad, whatever the Exportation wants in Value, to balance that of the Importation, must of Necessity be made up with ready Money.

By this we find out the Foundation of the Riches of *Holland*, as of their Trade by the Circumstances already rehearsed. For never any Country traded so much, and consumed so little. They buy infinitely, but it is to sell again, either upon Improvement of the Commodity, or at a better Market. They are the great Masters of the *Indian* Spices, and of the *Persian* Silks; but wear plain Woollen, and feed upon their own Fish and Roots: Nay, they sell the finest of their own Cloth to *France*, and buy coarse out of *England* for their own Wear. They send abroad the best of their own Butter into all Parts, and buy the cheapest out of *Ireland*, or the North of *England*, for their own Use. In short, they furnish infinite Luxury, which they never practise; and traffick in Pleasures, which they never taste.

The Gentlemen, and Officers of the Army change their Cloaths and their Modes like their Neighbours. But, among the whole Body of the Civil Magistrates, the Merchants, the rich Traders, and Citizens in general, the Fashions continue still the same; and others, as constant

among the Seamen and Boors: So that Men leave off their Cloaths, only because they are worn out, and not because they are out of Fashion.

Their great foreign Consumption is *French* Wine and Brandy; but that may be allowed them, as the only Reward they enjoy of all their Pains, and as that alone which makes them rich and happy in their voluntary Poverty, who would otherwise seem poor and wretched in their real Wealth. Besides, what they spend in Wine, they save in Corn to make other Drinks, which is bought from foreign Parts. And upon a Pressure of their Affairs, we see now for two Years together, they have denied themselves even this Comfort, among all their Sorrows, and made up in passive Fortitude whatever they have wanted in the active.

Thus it happens, that much going constantly out, either in Commodity, or in the Labour of Seafaring Men, and little coming in to be consumed at home, the rest returns in Coin, and fills the Country to that Degree, that more Silver is seen in *Holland*, among the common Hands and Purses, than Brass either in *Spain* or in *France*: Though one be so rich in the best native Commodities, and the other drain all the Treasuries of the *West-Indies*.

By all this Account of their Trade and Riches, it will appear, that some of our Maxims are not so certain, as they are current, in our common Politicks. As, *first*, That Example and Encouragement of Excess and Luxury, if employed in the Consumption of native Commodities, is of Advantage to Trade. It may be so to that which impoverishes, but is not to that which en-
riches

riches a Country; and is indeed less prejudicial, if it lie in native, than in foreign Wares. But the Custom or Humour of Luxury and Expence, cannot stop at certain Bounds. What begins in native, will proceed in foreign Commodities. And though the Example arise among idle Persons, yet the Imitation will run into all Degrees, even of those Men by whose Industry the Nation subsists. And besides, the more of our own we spend, the less we shall have to send abroad: And so it will come to pass, that while we drive a vast Trade; yet, by buying much more than we sell, we shall come to be poor: Whereas, when we drove a very small Traffick abroad, yet, by selling so much more than we bought, we were very rich in proportion to our Neighbours. This appeared in *Edward III.*'s Time, when we maintained so mighty Wars in *France*, and carried our victorious Arms into the Heart of *Spain*; whereas, in the twenty eighth Year of that King's Reign, the Value and Custom of all our exported Commodities amounted to 294,184*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*, and that of our imported but to 38,970*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*; so as there must have entered that Year into the Kingdom, in Coin or Bullion (or else have grown a Debt to the Nation) 255,214*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*; and yet we then carried out our Wools unwrought, and brought in a great Part of our Cloths from *Flanders*.

Another common Maxim is, That if, by any foreign Invasion or Servitude, the State, and consequently the Trade of *Holland*, should be ruined, the last would of course fall to our Share in *England*; which is no Consequence: For it would certainly break into several Pieces, and

shift either to us, to *Flanders*, to the *Hans Towns*, or any other Parts, according as the most of those Circumstances should any where concur to invite it, (and the likest to such), as appear to have formerly drawn it into *Holland*, by so mighty a Confluence of People, and so general a Vein of Industry and Parsimony among them. And whoever pretends to equal their Growth in Trade and Riches, by other ways than such as are already enumerated, will prove, I doubt, either to deceive, or to be deceived.

A third is, That if that State were reduced to great Extremities, so as to become a Province to some greater Power, they would chuse our Subjection rather than any other; or those at least that are the maritime and the richest of the Provinces. But it will be more reasonably concluded from all the former Discourses, that, though they may be divided by absolute Conquests, they will never divide themselves by Consent, but all fall one way; and, by common Agreement, make the best Terms they can for their Country as a Province, if not as a State. And, before they come to such an Extremity, they will first seek to be admitted as a *Belgick* Circle in the Empire, (which they were of old), and thereby receive the Protection of that mighty Body, which (as far as great and smaller Things may be compared) seems the likest their own State in its main Constitutions, but especially in the Freedom or Sovereignty of the Imperial Cities. And this I have often heard their Ministers speak of as their last Refuge, in case of being threatened by too strong and fatal a Conjunction.

And if this should happen, the Trade of the Provinces

Provinces would rather be preserved or increased, than any way broken or destroyed by such an Alteration of their State; because the Liberties of the Country would continue what they are, and the Security would be greater than now it is.

The last I will mention is of another Vein, That if the Prince of *Orange* were made Sovereign of their Country, though by foreign Arms, he would be a great Prince, because this now appears to be so great a State: Whereas, on the contrary, those Provinces would soon become a very mean Country. For such a Power must be maintained by Force, as it would be acquired, and as indeed all absolute Dominion must be in those Provinces. This would raise general Discontents; and those, perpetual Seditions among the Towns; which would change the Orders of the Country, endanger the Property of private Men, and shake the Credit and Safety of the Government. Whenever this should happen, the People would scatter, Industry would faint, Banks would dissolve, and Trade would decay to such a Degree, as probably, in course of Time, their very Diques would be no longer maintained by the Defences of a weak People against so furious an Invader; but the Sea would break in upon their Land, and leave their chiefest Cities to be Fisher-towns, as they were of old.

Without any such great Revolutions, I am of Opinion, that Trade has, for some Years ago, past its Meridian, and begun sensibly to decay among them. Whereof there seem to be several Causes: As, *first*, The general Application that

so many other Nations have made to it within these two or three and twenty Years. For since the Peace of *Munster*, which restored the Quiet of Christendom in 1648, not only *Sweden* and *Denmark*, but *France* and *England*, have more particularly than ever before busied the Thoughts and Counsels of their several Governments, as well as the Humours of their People, about the Matters of Trade.

Nor has this happened without good Degrees of Success; though Kingdoms of such Extent, that have other and nobler Foundations of Greatness, cannot raise Trade to such a Pitch as this little State, which had no other to build upon; no more than a Man, who has a fair and plentiful Estate, can fall to Labour and Industry, like one that has nothing else to trust to for the Support of his Life. But however, all these Nations have come of late to share largely with them; and there seem to be grown too many Traders for Trade in the World, so as they can hardly live one by another: As in a great and populous Village, the first Grocer, or Mercer, that sets up among them, grows presently rich, having all the Custom, till another, encouraged by his Success, comes to set up by him, and share in his Gains: At length so many fall to the Trade, that nothing is got by it, and some must give over, or all must break.

Not many Ages past, *Venice* and *Florence* possessed all the Trade of *Europe*, the last by their Manufactures, but the first by their Shipping; and the whole Trade of *Persia* and the *Indies*; whose Commodities were brought (those by Land, and these by the *Arabian Sea*) to *Egypt*;
from

from whence they were fetched by the *Venetian* Fleets, and dispersed into most of the Parts of *Europe*. And in those Times we find the whole Trade of *England* was driven by *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Lombards*. The *Easterlings*, who were the Inhabitants of the *Hans* Towns, as *Dantzick*, *Lubeick*, *Hamburgh*, and others upon that Coast, fell next into Trade, and managed all that of these Northern Parts for many Years, and brought it first down to *Bruges*, and from thence to *Antwerp*. The first Navigations of the *Portugueses* to the *East-Indies* broke the Greatness of the *Venetian* Trade, and drew it to *Lisbon*; and the Revolt of the *Netherlands*, that of *Antwerp* to *Holland*. But, in all this Time, the other and greater Nations of *Europe* concerned themselves little in it. Their Trade was War; their Counsels and Enterprizes were busied in the Quarrels of the *Holy Land*, or in those between the Popes and the Emperors, (both of the same Forge, engaging all Christian Princes, and ending in the Greatness of the Ecclesiastical State throughout Christendom); sometimes in the mighty Wars between *England* and *France*, between *France* and *Spain*; the more general between *Christians* and *Turks*, or more particular Quarrels between lesser and neighbouring Princes. In short, the Kingdoms and Principalities were in the World like the Noblemen and Gentlemen in a Country; the free States and Cities, like the Merchants and Traders; these at first despised by the others, the others served and revered by them; till, by the various Course of Events in the World, some of these came to grow rich and powerful by Industry.

dusury and Parsimony; and some of the others, poor by War and by Luxury: Which made the Traders begin to take upon them, and carry it like Gentlemen; and the Gentlemen begin to take a Fancy of falling to Trade. By this short Account, it will appear no wonder, either that particular Places grew so rich, and so mighty, while they alone enjoyed almost the general Trade of the World, nor why not only the Trade in *Holland*, but the Advantage of it in general, should seem to be lessened by so many that share it.

Another Cause of its Decay in that State may be, that, by the mighty Progress of their *East-India* Company, the Commodities of that Country are grown more than these Parts of the World can take off; and, consequently, the Rates of them must needs be lessened, while the Charge is increased by the great Wars, the Armies, and Forts, necessary to maintain or extend the Acquisitions of that Company in the *Indies*. For, instead of five or six *East-India* Ships, which used to make the Fleet of the Year, they are now risen to eighteen or twenty, (I think two and twenty came in one Year to the *United Provinces*). This is the Reason why the particular Persons of that Company in *Holland*, make not so great Advantage of the same Stock, as those of ours do in *England*; tho' their Company be very much richer, and drives a far greater Trade than ours; which is exhausted by no Charge of Armies, or Forts, or Ships of War. And this is the Reason that the *Dutch* are forced to keep so long and so much of those Commodities in their Magazines here, and to bring them out only as the
Markets

Markets call for them, or are able to take off; and why they bring so much less from the *Indies* than they were able to do, if there were Vent enough here: As I remember, one of their Seamen, newly landed out of their *East-India* Fleet, in the Year 1669, upon Discourse in a Boat between *Delf* and *Leyden*, said, he had seen, before he came away, three Heaps of Nutmegs burnt at a Time; each of which was more than a small Church could hold, which he pointed at in a Village that was in Sight.

Another Cause may be, the great Cheapness of Corn; which has been, for these dozen Years or more, general in all these Parts of *Europe*, and which has a very great Influence upon the Trade of *Holland*. For a great Vent of *Indian* Commodities, (at least the Spices, which are the Gross of them), used to be made into the Northern Parts of *Europe*, in Exchange for Corn; while it was taken off at good Rates by the Markets of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*; in all which Countries it has of late Years gone so low, as to discourage the Import of so great Quantities as used to come from *Poland* and *Prussia*, and other Parts of the North. Now, the less Value those Nations receive for Corn, the less they are able to give for Spice; which is a great Loss to the *Dutch* on both Sides, lessening the Vent of their *Indian* Ware in the Northern, and the Traffick of Corn in the Southern Parts. The Cause of this great Cheapness of Corn seems to be, not so much a Course of plentiful and seasonable Years, as the general Peace that has been in *Europe* since the Year 1659 or 1660; by which so many Men and so much

much Land have been turned to Husbandry, that were before employed in the Wars, or lay wasted by them in all the Frontier-provinces of *France* and *Spain*, as well as throughout *Germany*, before the Peace of *Munster*; and, in *England*, during the Actions or Consequences of a Civil War. And Plenty grows not to a Height, but by the Succession of several peaceful, as well as seasonable Years.

The last Cause I will mention is, the mighty Enlargement of the City of *Amsterdam*, by that which is called the *New Town*; the Extent whereof is so spacious, and the Buildings of so much greater Beauty and Cost than the old, that it must have employed a vast Proportion of that Stock which in this City was before wholly turned to Trade. Besides, there seems to have been growing on for these later Years, a greater Vye of Luxury and Expence among many of the Merchants of that Town, than was ever formerly known; which was observed and complained of, as well as the Enlargement of their City, by some of the wisest of their Ministers, while I resided among them; who designed some Regulations by sumptuary Laws; as knowing the very Foundations of their Trade would soon be undermined, if the habitual Industry, Parsimony and Simplicity of their People, came to be overrun by Luxury, Idleness, and Excess. However it happened, I found it agreed by all the most diligent and circumspect Inquiries I could make, that, in the Years 1669 and 1670, there was hardly any foreign Trade among them, besides that of the *Indies*, by which the Traders made the Returns of their Money without Loss; and

and none by which the common Gain was above two or three in the hundred. So as it seems to be with Trade, as with the Sea, its Element, that has a certain Pitch, above which it never rises in the highest Tides; and begins to ebb as soon as ever it ceases to flow, and ever loses Ground in one Place proportionably to what it gains in another.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Forces and Revenues of the United Provinces.

THE Strength and Forces of a Kingdom or State, were measured, in former Ages, by the Numbers of native and warlike Subjects, which they could draw into the Field, upon any War with their Neighbours. National Quarrels were decided by national Armies; not by stipendiary Forces, raised with Money, or maintained by constant Pay. In the several Kingdoms and Principalities of *Europe*, the Bodies of their Armies were composed, as they are still in *Polland*, of the Nobility and Gentry; who were bound to attend their Princes to the Wars, with certain Numbers of armed Men, according to the Tenure and Extent of the several Lordships and Lands they held of the Crown. Where these were not proportionable to the Occasion, the rest were made up of Subjects drawn together by Love of their Prince, or their Country; by Desire of Conquest and Spoils, or Necessity

of Defence; held together by Allegiance or Religion, and spirited by Honour, Revenge, or Avarice, (not of what they could get from their Leaders, but from their Enemies). A Battle or two, fairly fought, decided a War; and a War ended the Quarrel of an Age, and either lost or gained the Cause or Country contended for; till the Change of Times and Accidents brought it to a new Decision; till the Virtues and Vices of Princes made them stronger or weaker, either in the Love and Obedience of their People, or in such Orders and Customs as rendered their Subjects more or less warlike or effeminate. Standing Forces or Guards in constant Pay, were no where used by lawful Princes in their native or hereditary Countries, but only by Conquerors in subdued Provinces, or Usurpers at home; and were a Defence only against Subjects, not against Enemies.

These Orders seem first to have been changed in *Europe* by the two States of *Venice* and *Holland*; both of them small in Territories at Land, and those extended in Frontier upon powerful Neighbours; both of them weak in Number of native Subjects, and those less warlike at Land, by turning so much to Traffick, and to Sea: but both of them mighty in Riches and Trade; which made them endeavour to balance their Neighbours Strength in native Subjects, by foreign stipendiary Bands; and to defend their Frontiers, by the Arts of Fortification, and Strength of Places; which might draw out a War into Length, by Sieges, when they durst not venture it upon a Battle; and so make it many times determine by Force of Money, rather

ther than of Arms. This forced those Princes who frontiered upon these States, to the same Provisions; which have been increased by the perpetual Course of Wars upon the Continent of Europe, ever since the Rise of this State, until the Peace of the *Pirenees*, between Princes bordering one upon the other, and so ready for sudden Inroads or Invasions.

The Force therefore of these Provinces is to be measured, not by the Number or Dispositions of their Subjects, but by the Strength of their Shipping, and standing Troops, which they constantly maintain, even in Time of Peace; and by the Numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the Field, and to Sea, for Support of a War; by their constant Revenue to maintain the first, and by the temporary Charge they have been able to furnish for Supply of the other.

I will not enumerate their Frontier-towns, (which is a common Theme), or the Forces necessary for the Garrisons of them; nor the Nature and Variety of their Taxes, and Impositions, though I have an exact List of them by me, expressing the several Kinds, Rates, and Proportions, upon every Province and Town. But this would swell a Discourse with a great deal of tedious Matter, and to little Purpose. I shall therefore be content only to observe, what I have informed myself of their Forces and Revenues in general, from Persons among them the best able to give that Account.

The ordinary Revenue of this State consists, either in what is levied in the conquered Towns and Country of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, or the *Rhine*,

which is wholly administered by the Council of State; or else the ordinary Funds which the Seven Provinces provide every Year according to their several Proportions, upon the Petition of the Council of State, and Computation of the Charge of the ensuing Year, given in by them to the States-General. And this Revenue commonly amounts to about one and twenty Millions of Guilders a-year; every Million making about ninety thousand Pounds *Sterling* intrinsic Value.

The chief Funds out of which this rises, are, the Excise and the Customs. The first is great, and so general, that I have heard it observed at *Amsterdam*, that, when in a Tavern, a certain Dish of Fish is eaten with the usual Sauce, above thirty several Excises are paid, for what is necessary to that small Service. The last are low and easy, and applied particularly to the Admiralty.

Out of this Revenue is supplied the Charge of the whole Milice, of all publick Officers of the State, and Ambassadors or Ministers abroad, and the Interest of about thirteen Millions owing by the States-General.

The standing Forces in the Year 1670, upon so general a Peace, and after all Reformations, were twenty six thousand two hundred Men, in ten Regiments of Horse, consisting of fifty Troops, and nineteen of Foot, consisting of three hundred and eighty Companies. The constant Charge of these Forces stood them in six Millions one hundred and nineteen thousand Guilders a-year.

Their Admiralties, in Time of Peace, maintain between thirty and forty Men of War, employed

ployed in the several Convoys of their Merchants Fleets, in a Squadron of eight or ten Ships, to attend the *Algerines*, and other *Corfsairs* in the *Mediterranean*; and some always lying ready in their Havens for any sudden Accidents or Occasions of the State. The common Expence of the Admiralties in this Equipage, and the Built of Ships, is about six Millions a-year.

Besides the Debt of the Generality, the Province of *Holland* owes about sixty Millions; for which they pay Interest at four in the hundred; but with so great Ease and Exactness, both in Principal and Interest, that no Man ever demands it twice. They might take up whatever Money they desired. Whoever is admitted to bring in his Money, takes it for a great deal of Favour; and when they pay off any Part of the Principal, those it belongs to receive it with Tears, not knowing how to dispose of it to Interest with such Safety and Ease. And the common Revenue of particular Men lies much in the Cantores, either of the Generality, or the several Provinces, which are the Registries of these public Debts.

Of the several Imposts and Excises, those that are upon certain and immoveable Possessions (as Houses and Lands) are collected by the Magistrates of the several Places, and by them paid in to the Receivers; because both the Number and Value of them are constant, and easily known. Those which arise out of uncertain Consumptions, are all set out to Farm; and to him that bids most, some every three Months, some every six, and some yearly.

The Collection, Receipt, and Distribution of
all

all publick Monies, are made, without any Fee to Officers; who receive certain constant Salaries from the State, which they dare not increase by any private Practices or Extortions: So as whoever has a Bill of any publick Debt, has so much ready Money in his Coffers, being paid certainly at Call, without Charge or Trouble, and assigned over in any Payment, like the best Bill of Exchange.

The extraordinary Revenue is, when, upon some great Occasions or Wars, the Generality agrees to any extraordinary Contributions: As sometimes the hundredth Penny of the Estates of all the Inhabitants; Pole or Chimney Money; or any other Subsidies, and Payments, according as they can agree, and the Occasions require; which have sometimes reached so far, as even to an Imposition upon every Man that travels in the common Ways of their Country, by Boat, or in Coach, in Waggon, or on Horseback.

By all these Means, in the first Year of the *English* War in 1665, there were raised in the Provinces forty Millions; of which twenty two in the Province of *Holland*. And, upon the Bishop of *Munster's* invading them at the same time by Land, they had, in the Year 1666, above three score thousand Landmen in Pay, and a Fleet of above an hundred Men of War at Sea.

The Greatness of this Nation, at that Time, seems justly to have raised the Glory of ours; which, during the Years 1665 and 1666, maintained a War, not only against this powerful State, but against the Crowns of *France* and *Denmark*, in conjunction with them: And all at a Time when this Kingdom was forced to struggle

struggle at home with the calamitous Effects of a raging Plague, that, in three Months of the first Year, swept away incredible Numbers of People; and of a prodigious Fire, that, in three Days of the second, laid in Ashes that ancient and famous City of *LONDON*, (the Heart and Centre of our Commerce and Riches), consuming the greatest Part of its Buildings, and an immense Proportion of its Wealth. Yet, in the midst of those fatal Accidents, those two Summers were renowned with three Battles of the mightiest Fleets that ever met upon the Ocean. Whereof two were determined by entire and unquestioned Victories, and Pursuit of our Enemies into their very Havens. The third having begun, by the unfortunate Division of our Fleet, with the odds of ninety of their Ships against fifty of ours; and, in spite of such Disadvantages, having continued, or been renewed for three Days together, (wherein we were every Morning the Aggressors), ended at last by the equal and mutual Weakness or Weariness of both Sides, the Maims of Ships and Tackling, with Want of Powder and Ammunition; having left undecided the greatest Action that will perhaps appear upon Record of any Story. And, in this Battle, *Monsieur de Wit* confessed to me, that we gained more Honour to our Nation, and to the invincible Courage of our Seamen, than by the other two Victories; that he was sure, their Men could never have been brought on the two following Days, after the Disadvantages of the first; and he believed no other Nation was capable of it but ours.

I will not judge how we came to fail of a glorious

rious Peace in the six Months next succeeding, after the Fortune of our last Victory, and with the Honour of the War. But as any rough Hand can break a Bone, whereas much Art and Care are required to set it again, and restore it to its first Strength and Proportion; so it is an easy Part in a Minister of State to engage a War; but it is given to few to know the Times, and find the Ways of making Peace. Yet when, after the sensible Events of an unfortunate Negligence, an indifferent Treaty was concluded at *Breda* in 1667, within six Months following, by an Alliance with this State in *January* 1668, (which was received with incredible Joy and Applause among them), his Majesty became the unquestioned Arbitrer of all the Affairs of Christendom; made a Peace between the two great Crowns, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which was avowed by all the World to be perfectly his own; and was received with equal Applause of Christian Princes abroad, and of his Subjects at home; and for three Years succeeding, by the unshaken Alliance and Dependence of the United States, his Majesty remained absolute Master of the Peace of Christendom, and in a Posture of giving Bounds to the greatest, as well as Protection to the weakest of his Neighbours.

C H A P. VIII.

The Causes of the Fall of the United Provinces in 1672.

IT must be avowed, that as this State, in the Course and Progress of its Greatness for so many Years past, has shined like a Comet; so, in the Revolutions of this last Summer, it seemed to fall like a Meteor, and has equally amazed the World by the one and the other. When we consider such a Power and Wealth as was related in the last Chapter, to have fallen in a Manner prostrate within the Space of one Month; so many Frontier-towns, renowned in the Sieges and Actions of the *Spanish Wars*, entered like open Villages by the *French Troops*, without Defence, or almost Denial; most of them without any Blows at all, and all of them with so few; their great Rivers, that were esteemed an invincible Security to the Provinces of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, passed with as much Ease, and as small Resistances, as little Fords; and, in short, the very Hearts of a Nation, so valiant of old against *Rome*, so obstinate against *Spain*, now subdued, and in a Manner abandoning all before their Danger appeared: we may justly have our Recourse to the secret and fixed Periods of all human Greatness, for the Account of such a Revolution; or rather to the unsearchable Decrees and irresistible Force of divine Providence; though it seems not more impious to question it, than to measure it by our Scale; or reduce the

Issues

Issues and Motions of that eternal Will and Power, to a Conformity with what is esteemed just, or wise, or good, by the usual Consent, or the narrow Comprehension of poor mortal Men.

But as, in the Search and Consideration even of Things natural and common, our Talent, I fear, is to talk rather than to know; so we may be allowed to inquire, and reason upon all Things, while we do not pretend to Certainty, or call that undeniable Truth, which is every Day denied by ten thousand; nor those Opinions unreasonable, which we know to be held by such as we allow to be reasonable Men: I shall therefore set down such Circumstances as to me seem most evidently to have conspired in this Revolution, leaving the Causes less discernible to the Search of more discerning Persons.

And, first, I take their vast Trade, which was an Occasion of their Greatness, to have been one likewise of their Fall, by having wholly diverted the Genius of their native Subjects and Inhabitants from Arms, to Traffick, and the Arts of Peace; leaving the whole Fortune of their later Wars to be managed by foreign and mercenary Troops; which much abated the Courage of their Nation, (as was observed in another Chapter), and made the Burghers of so little Moment towards the Defence of their Towns: Whereas, in the famous Sieges of *Harlem*, *Alamir*, and *Leyden*, they had made such brave and fierce Defences, as broke the Heart of the *Spanish* Armies, and the Fortune of their Affairs.

Next was the Peace of *Munster*, which had left them, now for above twenty Years, too secure

cure of all Invasions, or Enemies at Land, and so turned their whole Application to the Strength of their Forces at Sea; which have been since exercised with two *English* Wars in that Time, and enlivened with the small yearly Expeditions into the *Streights*, against the *Algerines*, and other *Corfsairs* of the *Mediterranean*.

Another was, their too great Parsimony, in reforming so many of their best foreign Officers and Troops, upon the Peace of *Munster*; whose Valour and Conduct had been so great Occasions of inducing *Spain* to the Counsels and Conclusions of that Treaty.

But the greatest of all others, that concurred to weaken, and indeed break the Strength of their Land-milice, was, the Alteration of their State, which happened by the *perpetual Edict* of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*, upon the Death of the last Prince of *Orange*, for Exclusion of the Power of Stadtholder in their Province, or at least the Separation of it from the Charge of Captain-General. Since that Time, the main Design and Application of those Provinces has been, to work out, by Degrees, all the old Officers, both native and foreign, who had been formerly sworn to the Prince of *Orange*, and were still thought affectionate to the Interest of that Family; and to fill the Commands of their Army with the Sons or Kinsmen of Burgomasters, and other Officers or Deputies in the State, whom they esteemed sure to the Constitutions of their popular Government, and good enough for an Age where they saw no Appearance of Enemy at Land to attack them.

But the Humour of Kindness to the young Prince,

Prince, both in the People and Army, was not to be dissolved or dispersed by any Medicines or Operations, either of Rigour or Artifice; but grew up insensibly with the Age of the Prince, ever presaging some Revolution in the State, when he should come to the Years of aspiring, and managing the general Affections of the People; being a Prince, who joined to the great Qualities of his Royal Blood, the popular Virtues of his Country; silent and thoughtful; given to hear, and to inquire; of a sound and steady Understanding; much Firmness in what he once resolves, or once denies; great Industry and Application to his Business, little to his Pleasures; Piety in the Religion of his Country, but with Charity to others; Temperance unusual to his Youth, and to the Climate; frugal in the common Management of his Fortune, and yet magnificent upon Occasion; of great Spirit and Heart, aspiring to the Glory of military Actions, with strong Ambition to grow great, but rather by the Service than the Servitude of his Country; in short, a Prince of many Virtues, without any appearing Mixture of Vice.

In the *English* War, begun the Year 1665, the States disbanded all the *English* Troops that were then left in their Service, dispersing the Officers and Soldiers of our Nation who staid with them, into other Companies or Regiments of their own. After the *French* Invasion of *Flanders*, and the strict Alliance between *England* and *Holland* in 1668, they did the same by all the *French* that were remaining in their Service; so as the several Bodies of these two Nations, which had ever the greatest Part in the Honour and Fortune of their

their Wars, were now wholly dissolved, and their standing Milice, composed, in a manner, all of their own Natives, enervated by the long Uses and Arts of Traffick and of Peace.

But they were too great a Match for any of the smaller Princes their Neighbours in *Germany*; and too secure of any Danger from *Spain*, by the Knowledge of their Forces, as well as Dispositions; and, being strictly allied both with *England* and *Sweden*, in two several defensive Leagues, and in one common triple Alliance, they could not foresee any Danger from *France*, who, they thought, would never have the Courage or Force to enter the Lists with so mighty Confederates; and who were sure of a Conjunction, whenever they pleased, both with the Emperor and *Spain*.

Besides, they knew that *France* could not attack them, without passing through *Flanders* or *Germany*. They were sure *Spain* would not suffer it through the first, if they were backed in opposing it, as foreseeing the inevitable Loss of *Flanders* upon that of *Holland*. And they could hardly believe the Passage should be yielded by a *German* Prince, contrary to the express Will and Intentions of the Emperor, as well as the common Interests of the Empire. So that they hoped the War would at least open in their Neighbours Provinces; for whose Defence they resolved to employ the whole Force of their State; and would have made a mighty Resistance, if the Quarrel had begun at any other Doors but their own.

They could not imagine a Conjunction between *England* and *France* for the Ruin of their

State. For, being unacquainted with our Constitutions, they did not foresee how we should find our Interest in it; and measured all States by that which they esteemed to be their Interest: Nor could they believe, that other Princes and States of *Europe* would suffer such an Addition to be made to the Power of *France*, as a Conquest of *Holland*.

Besides these publick Considerations, there were others particular to the Factions among them. And some of their Ministers were neither forward nor supple enough to endeavour the early breaking or diverting such Conjunctions as threatened them; because they were not without Hopes they might end in renewing their broken Measures with *France*; which those of the Commonwealth-party were more inclined to, by foreseeing the Influence that their Alliances with *England* must needs have in Time towards the restoring of the Prince of *Orange's* Authority: And they thought at the worst, that, whenever a Pinch came, they could not fail of a safe Bargain in one Market or other, having so vast a Treasure ready to employ upon any good Occasion.

These Considerations made them commit three fatal Oversights in their foreign Negotiations: For they made an Alliance with *England*, without engaging a Confidence and Friendship; they broke their Measures with *France*, without closing new ones with *Spain*; and they reckoned upon the Assistances of *Sweden*, and their neighbouring Princes of *Germany*, without making them sure, by subsidiary Advances, before a War began.

Lastly,

Lastly, The Prince of *Orange* was approaching the two and twentieth Year of his Age; which the States of *Holland* had, since their Alliance with his Majesty in 1668, ever pretended should be the Time of advancing him to the Charge of Captain-General and Admiral of their Forces, though without that of Stadtholder. But the nearer they drew to this Period, which was like to make a new Figure in their Government, the more desirous some of their Ministers seemed either to decline or to restrain it. On the other side, the Prince grew confident upon the former Promises, or at least Intimations of *Holland*, and the concurring Dispositions of the other six Provinces to his Advancement. And his Party, spirited by their Hopes, and the great Qualities of this young Prince, (now grown ripe for Action, and for Enterprize), resolved to bring this Point to a sudden Decision; against which the other Party prepared, and united all their Defences: So as this strong Disease, that had been so long working in the very Bowels of the State, seemed just upon its *Crisis*, when a Conjunction of two mighty Kings brought upon them a sudden and furious Invasion by Land and Sea at the same time, by a Royal Fleet of above fourscore Ships, and an Army of as many thousand Men.

When the States saw this Cloud ready to break upon them, (after a long Belief that it would blow over), they began, not only to provide Shelter at home with their usual Vigour, but to look out for it abroad, though both too late. Of the Princes that were their Allies, or concerned in their Danger, such as were far

off, could not be in Time; the nearer were unwilling to share in a Danger they were not enough prepared for; most were content to see the Pride of this State humbled; some, the Injuries they had received from them revenged; many would have them mortified, that would not have them destroyed: And so all resolved to leave them to weather the Storm, as they could, for one *Campania*; which they did not believe could go far towards their Ruin, considering the Greatness of their Riches, Number of their Forces, and Strength of their Places.

The State, in the mean time, had increased their Troops to seventy thousand Men, and had begun to repair the Fortifications of their Frontier-towns: But so great a Length of their Country lay open to the *French* Invasion, by the Territories of *Colen* and *Liege*, and to the Bishop of *Munster*, (their inveterate Enemy), by *Westphalia*, that they knew not where to expect, or provide against the first Danger: And while they divided their Forces and Endeavours towards the securing of so many Garrisons, they provided for none to any purpose but *Maastricht*; which the *French* left behind them, and fell in upon the Towns of the *Rhine*, and the Heart of their Provinces.

Besides, those Ministers who had still the Direction of Affairs, bent their chief Application to the Strength and Order of their Fleet, rather than of their Army: whether more pecked at *England* than *France*, upon the War, and Manner of entering into it; or believing that a Victory at Sea would be the Way to a Peace with this Crown; or hoping their Towns would not fall

fall so fast, but that, before three or four were lost, the Business at Sea would be decided; or perhaps content that some ill Successes should attend the Prince of *Orange* at his first Entrance upon the Command of their Armies, and thereby contribute to their Designs of restraining his Authority, while they were forced to leave him the Name of Captain-General. This indeed was not likely to fail, considering the ill Constitution of their old Army, the hasty Levies of their new, and the Height of the Factions now broken out in the State; which left both the Towns and the Troops in suspense, under whose Banners they fought, and by whose Orders they were to be governed, the Prince's, or the States.

There happened, at the same time, an Accident unusual to their Climate; which was, a mighty Drought in the Beginning of the Summer, that left their Waters fordable in Places where they used to be navigable for Boats of greatest Burden. And this gave them more Trouble and Distraction in the Defence, as it did their Enemies more Facility in the Passage of those great Rivers, which were esteemed no small Security of their Country.

And in this Posture were the Affairs of this Commonwealth when the War broke out, with those fatal Events that must needs attend any Kingdom or State where the Violence of a foreign Invasion happens to meet with the distracted Estate of a domestick Sedition or Discontent; which, like ill Humours in a Body, make any small Wound dangerous, and a great one mortal. They were still a great Body, but without their usual Soul; they were a State, but it was

of the *disunited Provinces*. Their Towns were without Order, their Burghers without Obedience, their Soldiers without Discipline, and all without Heart; whereas, in all Sieges, the Hearts of Men defend the Walls, and not Walls the Men. And indeed it was the Name of *England* joining in the War against them, that broke their Hearts, and contributed more to the Loss of so many Towns, and so much Country, than the Armies of *Munster* or of *France*. So that, upon all Circumstances considered, it seems easier to give an Account what it was that lost them so much, than what saved them the rest.

No Man at Play sees a very great Game, either in his own or another's Hand, unexpectedly lost, but he is apt to consider whether it could have been saved, and how it ought to have been played. The same Inquiry will be natural upon the Fall of this State, and very difficult to resolve.

After the mighty Growth of the *French*, and Decay of the *Spanish* Power, which drew on the Invasion of *Flanders* in 1667, this State had a very hard Game to play. Either they must see *Flanders* wholly lost, and *France* grown to confine upon them; whom they liked as an Ally, but dreaded as a Neighbour: or else they must join with *France* to divide *Flanders* between them; but they knew what it was to share with the Lion: or they must join with *Spain* to defend *Flanders* against *France*; that is, with their old Enemy, against their old Friend: or, lastly, they must join with *England* for the Defence of *Flanders*, neither breaking with *France*, nor closing with *Spain*; and frame an Arbitrage, but of something a rough Nature; rather prescribing,

bing, than mediating a Peace; and threatening a War upon that Crown that refused it.

They chose the last; and wisely, as all Men thought. But though this Alliance was happily planted, yet it was unhappily cultivated; and so the Fruit came to fall, and the Root to wither, upon the first Change of Seasons, in such a Manner, and to such a Degree, as we have lately seen. Whether they could have prevented a Conjunction of *England* with *France*, shall be no Part of my Subject: For I pretend not to know, or to tell Secrets of State; and intend these not for the Observations of an Ambassador, but of a private Man as I am; and such as any Gentleman might easily have made, who had resided above two Years, as I did, in *Holland*, and had been, as I was, a little inclined to observe. I shall only say, that the Conjunction of *England* with *France* was to this State like one of those Diseases which the Physicians say are hard to discern, while they are easy to cure; but when once they come to be plainly discovered, they are past Remedy.

But, as *Holland* had ever defended itself against *Spain* by *England* and *France*, so it ought to have done against *France* by *England* and *Spain*; and provided early against their own Danger, as well as that of *Flanders*, by improving and advancing their confederate League with *England* and *Sweden*, into a strict defensive Alliance with *Spain*, as a Principal in the League; and by agreeing with that Crown, to furnish between them some constant subsidiary Payments to *Sweden*, for the Support of their standing Forces, even in Time of Peace. This was the
Desire

Desire of *Spain*; the Interest of all that meant to secure the Peace of Christendom; and the Opinion of some of the *Dutch* Ministers, though not of the chiefest till it was too late. And the Omission of this was the greatest Fault ever committed in their Politicks; and proceeded in a great measure from their ancient Animosity to *Spain*; which, as it was the Beginning, so, by this Effect, it almost proved the End of their State.

When the War began in the midst of the Conjectures related, it is hard to say what could have defended them. But, as Men in a Town, threatened with a mighty Siege, abandon their Suburbs, and flight those Outworks, which are either weak of themselves, or not well defensible for want of Men; and resolve only to make good those Posts which they are able fully to man, and easily to relieve; because the Loss of every small Outwork does not only weaken the Number, but sink the Courage of the Garrison within:

So this State, which came to be in a manner besieged by the mighty and numerous Armies of *France* and of *Munster*, ought, in my Opinion, to have left themselves but three Outworks to maintain; I mean, three Posts standing without the Lines that inclosed the main Body of their Provinces. These should have been *Maastricht*, *Wesel*, and *Coeverden*. They should have slighted all the rest of their Places that lay without these upon the *Rhine*, or in *Overysse*, and drawn the Men into these Towns, so as to have left them rather like Camps than Garrisons; that is, eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse

Horse in *Maestricht*, as many in *Wesel*, and half the Number in *Coeverden*, if the Place would contain them; if not, they might have formed and fortified a Camp with something a greater Number upon the next Pass into *Friezland* and *Groninguen*.

Of the rest of their Horse, (which were, I suppose, about five thousand), with at least fifteen thousand Foot, they should have formed a great standing Camp, within their Rivers, somewhere near *Arnhem*; fortified it with Cannon, and all the Art that could be; furnished it with the greatest Care, and Plenty of Provisions. The Remainder of their Infantry would have been enough for the rest of their Garrisons; of which the Towns upon the *Rissel*, *Doesburgh*, *Zutphen*, *Doventer*, and *Swall*, would have been in a manner flanked (though at some Distance) by the strong Garrisons of *Wesel* and *Coeverden*, and breasted by the main Camp.

If, with this Disposition of their Forces, they had provided well for the Strength and Defence of *Skinkscance*, *Nimmeguen*, and *Grave*, (which would likewise have lain all within the Cover of these Out-posts); they might, for ought I know, have expected the War without losing the Heart and Steadiness of their Counsels, and not without a Probability of making a Defence worthy the former Greatness and Atchievements of their State.

For a Siege of *Maestricht* or *Wesel*, so garrisoned and resolutely defended, might not only have amused, but endangered the *French* Armies; as *Coeverden* might have done that of *Munster*. The Resistance of one of these Towns would have

have increased the Strength of all the rest : For the Fortune of Battles and Sieges turns upon the Hearts of Men, as they are more or less capable of general Confidences or Fears, which are very much raised by Accidents and Opinions. It would not have been within any common Rules, to march so far into the Country, as to attack the *Burse* or *Breda*, *Nimmeguen* or *Grave*, leaving such Camps behind, as those at *Wesel* and *Maestricht*, and having so much a greater before them, as that about *Arnhem*. If any of these three Posts had been lost, yet it could not have happened without good Conditions; and so retiring the Men, to strengthen either the more inward Garrisons, or the main Camp; which would have lain ready to defend the Passes of their Rivers. And if, at the worst, they had failed in this, yet the *French* Army must afterwards either have attacked a fortified Camp of twenty thousand Men, or left such an Army behind them, when they marched towards *Utrecht*, and into the Heart of the Provinces; both of which would have been Attempts that, I think, have hardly been enterprized with Success upon any Invasion.

There seems at least some Appearance of Order and Conduct in this Scheme of Defence; whereas there was none in theirs. But perhaps the Greatness of the Tempest from abroad, and of the Factions at home, either broke the Heart, or distracted the Course of their Counsels. And besides, such old Seamen, in so strong a Ship, that had weathered so many Storms without Loss, could not but think it hard, to throw over board so much of their Lading before this began.

After

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After all, I know very well, that nothing is so hard, as to give wise Counsel before Events, and nothing so easy, as after them to make wise Reflexions. Many things seem true in Reason, and prove false in Experience; many that are weakly consulted, are executed with Success. Therefore, to conclude, we must all acknowledge, that Wisdom and Happiness dwell with God alone; and, among mortal Men, (both of their Persons and their States), those are the wisest that commit the fewest Follies, and those the happiest that meet with the fewest Misfortunes.

F I N I S.

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